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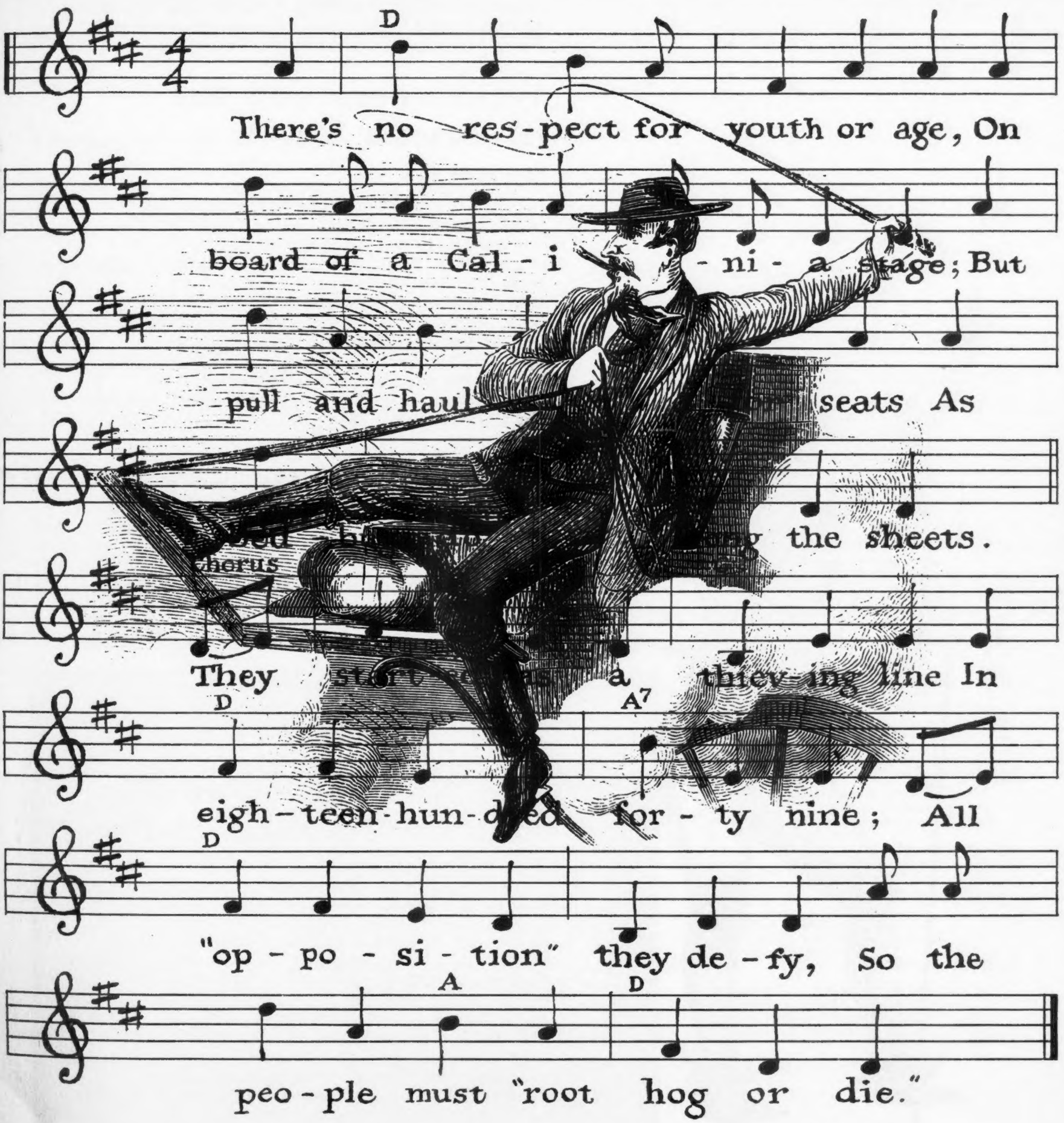

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COVER STORY

I Took Ye fer an Injun . . .

. . . So reads the caption Frederic Remington supplied to the vignette we have taken as our cover illustration for this first issue of *The American West Review*. The gag is perhaps slightly labored—but the lively draftsmanship of the artist, his enthusiasm for the exotic detail of the historical West, are nowhere more apparent than in this drawing that graced the pages of *Century Magazine* in 1890.

Just past his twenty-ninth birthday, Remington had by that date made his reputation. *Century, Outing, Harper's Weekly*—the "top markets" of the day—had bought hundreds of his illustrations; his paintings had won prizes at the annual exhibitions of the National Academy; he had just moved into a mansion in New Rochelle. It was only five years since Remington had come to New York to break into the Big Time, and already he was the recognized image-maker of the Old West.

From 1890 until his untimely death on the day after Christmas of 1909, Remington both consolidated *(Continued on back cover)*

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COVER STORY

● ROOT HOG OR DIE ●

One of the compelling virtues of the thousands of "folk" songs in the history of the West is a traditional and thoroughly admirable strain of unrelieved irony. The pioneer balladeer was often as not caught up in outrage or amusement when he set out to make a song, and while he was entirely capable of a moist sentimentality that would put a denizen of Tin Pan Alley to shame, he was equally capable of a sardonic commentary on his existence that cut through the claptrap of propriety to the meat of the matter. Life in the West—in whatever milieu—was for the great bulk of its residents a daily grind of hard work, short cash, pinched bellies, and a host of sundry frustrations, not the least of which was a generalized feeling that they had been taken, one way or another. Each of these grievances managed to find its way into song, leaving the gen-

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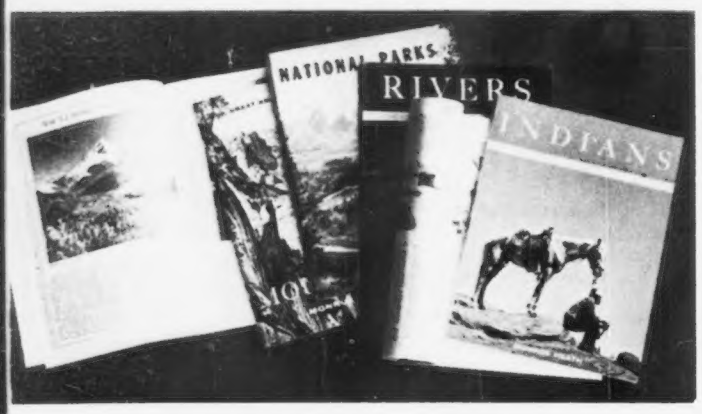

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Cowboys and the Songs They Sang *(W. R. Scott, N.Y., 1967. 72 pp., illus., biblio., notes, $5.95).* by S. J. SACKETT ‡

The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783 *(University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1967. 343 pp., illus., maps, biblio., notes, index, $5.95).* by DAVID H. CORKRAN ‡

The Decline of the Californios *(University of California, Berkeley, $7.95).* by LEONARD PITT *22

Diamonds in the Salt: The First Authentic Account of the Sensational Diamond Hoax Chicanery *(Pruett Press, Boulder, 1967. 200 pp., biblio., index, $6.75).* by BRUCE A. WOODARD ‡

Diaries of Peter Decker; Overland to California in 1849 and Life in the Mines, 1850-51 *(The Talisman Press, Georgetown, Calif., 1966. 338 pp., intro., maps, illus., notes, app., index, $10.00).* edited by HELEN S. GIFFIN †12

The Diary of Col. Wm. Fairfax Gray from Virginia to Texas, 1835-1836 *(Fletcher Young Publishing Co., Houston. 230 pp., $8.50).* Reprint from 1909 first edition. *24

The Diary of Millie Gray, 1832-40 *(Fletcher Young, Houston. 168 pp., $10.00).* *24

Doctors of the Old West *(Superior Publishing Co., Seattle, 1967. $12.95).* by ROBERT KAROLEVITZ *6

Early Navaho Rock Paintings and Carvings *(Museum of Navaho Ceremonial Art, Santa Fe, 1966. 32 pp., illus., monogram, pap., $1.00).* by POLLY SCHAAFSMA ‡

Economics of Outdoor Recreation *(Pub. for Resources of the Future by Hopkins, Baltimore, 1966. 328 pp., illus., biblio., $8,50).* by MARION CLAWSON ‡

Empire on the Platte: Historical Account of the American Great Plains from the Civil War to the 1880's *(World Publishing Co., Cleveland, 1967. 373 pp., illus., biblio., index, $7.50).* by ALEXANDER RICHARD CRABB †26

The Enlarged Devil's Dictionary *(Doubleday & Co., Garden City, 1967. 300 pp., intro., $5.95).* edited by ERNEST J. HOPKINS †19

Eskimo Masks, Art and Ceremony *(University of Washington, Seattle, 1967. 246 pp., description of plates, biblio., index, $12.50).* Photographs by Alfred A. Blaker. by DOROTHY JEAN RAY ‡

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Farewell to Texas *(McGraw-Hill, N.Y., $6.95).* by WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS *19

Frame-up: The Tom Mooney-Warren Billings Case *(W. W. Norton & Co., N.Y., 1967. 496 pp., illus., biblio., notes, app., index., $7.50).* by CURT GENTRY ‡

The Frontier Re-examined *(University of Illinois, Urbana, 1967. 192 pp., intro., illus., notes, index, $6.95).* edited by JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT ‡

The Frontiersmen: a Narrative *(Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1967. 626 pp., chapter notes, list of Indian characters, glossary, index, $8.95).* by ALLAN W. ECKERT ‡

The Ghost Dance of 1889: Among the Pai Indians of Northwestern Arizona *(Prescott College, Prescott, Arizona, 1967. Prescott College Studies in Anthropology No. 1. 67 pp., illus., references, index, $5.85).* by HENRY DOBYNS AND ROBERT C. EULER ‡

Glacier Bay *(Sierra Club, San Francisco, 1967. 83 photographs, 16 in color, biblio., index, $25.00).* Photographs by Dave Bohn. edited by DAVID BROWER *10, †14

Gold in The Black Hills *(University of Oklahoma, Norman. Illus., $5.95).* by WATSON PARKER *4

Gold Rush Diary: Being the Journal of Elisha Douglass Perkins on the Overland Trail in the Spring and Summer of 1849 *(University of Kentucky, Lexington, 1967. 206 pp., intro., illus., app., notes, index, $8.75).* edited by THOMAS D. CLARK †12

Good Lives: The Story of Six Men and the Good Life That Each Won for Himself *(Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, $5.95).* by GEORGE R. STEWART *23

The Grassland of North America: Prolegomena to Its History, with Addenda and Postscript *(Peter Smith, Magnolia, Mass., [c. 1947, 1956, 1961], 1967. 490 pp., biblio., app., $7.50).* by JAMES C. MALIN ‡

The Great West *(American Heritage, Marion, Ohio. 416 pp., illus., $16.50).* edited by THE EDITORS OF AMERICAN HERITAGE *7

Grizzly Country: A Many-Sided View of the Grizzly Bear and the World in Which He Lives *(Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., 1967. 302 pp., illus., $6.95).* by ANDY RUSSELL ‡

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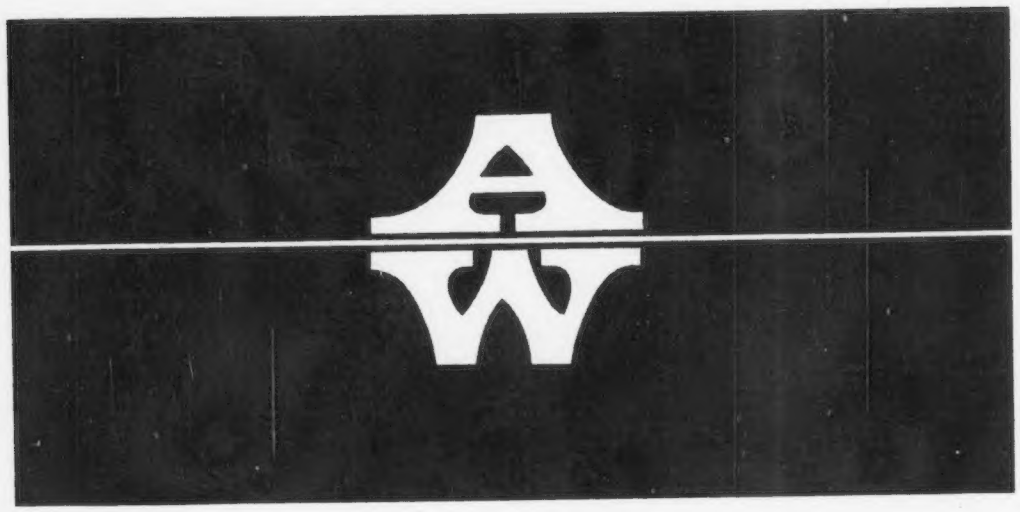

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History of the Santee Sioux *(University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1968. $7.50).*
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History of the United States Army *(Macmillan, N.Y., 1967. 688 pp., illus., app., notes, index, $12.95).* by RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY ‡

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Lady in Arms *(Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, $4.50).* by VIRGINIA WEISEL JOHNSON *8

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by HENRY RAUP WAGNER in collaboration with HELEN RAND PARISH ‡

Los Angeles *(Doubleday & Co., Garden City, 1967. 59 pp., color plates, $3.25).*
by HANS W. HANNAU ‡

Lost Heritage of Alaska: The Adventures and Art of the Alaskan Coastal Indians *(World Publishing Co., Cleveland, 1967. 289 pp., intro., illus., biblio., index, $15.00).*
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Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power *(New American Library, N.Y., 1967, $7.95).*
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Mark Twain's America and Mark Twain at Work *(Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston [c. 1932, 1942] 1967. 140 pp., illus., app., $6.95).*
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Medicine in the American Colonies. Original published in Albany, N.Y., 1850 *(Horn & Wallace, Albuquerque, 1966. 100 pp., $4.75).*
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by JUSTIN KAPLAN ‡

Montana in Miniature: The Pictorial History of Montana from Early Exploration to Early Statehood *(O'Neil Printers, Kalispell, Mont., 1966. 216 pp., illus., $18.50).*
by PHILIP G. COLE ‡

Mt. McKinley: The Pioneer Climbs *(University of Alaska, Seattle, 1967. 202 pp., notes, glossary, index, $6.95).* by TERRIS MOORE ‡

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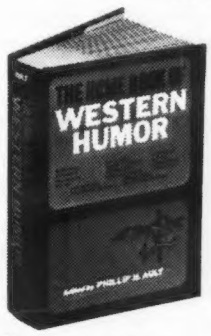

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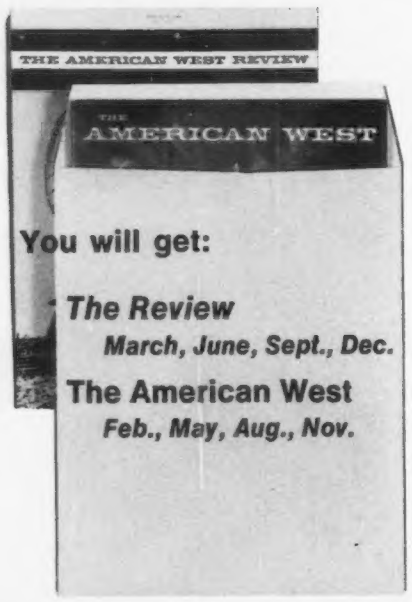

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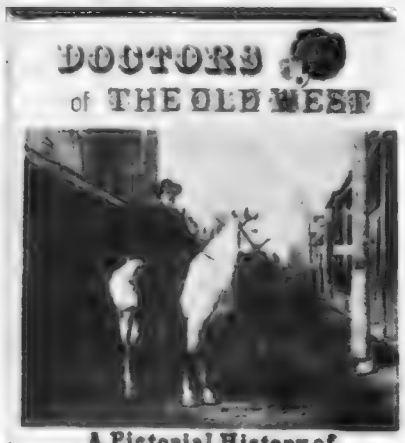

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Newspapers on the Minnesota Frontier, 1849-1860 *(Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1967. 176 pp., illus., app., index, $4.50).* by GEORGE S. HAGE ‡

The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest *(Yale University, New Haven, $15.00).* by ALVIN M. JOSEPHY, JR. *2

No More Than Five in a Bed: Colorado Hotels in the Old Days *(University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1967. 208 pp., illus., map, biblio., index, $5.95).* by SANDRA DALLAS *4, †18

The North American Indians: A Sourcebook *(Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1967. 752 pp., intro., film list, reading lists, index, $10.95).* edited by ROGER C. OWEN, JAMES J. F. DEETZ AND ANTHONY D. FISHER ‡

Nuno de Guzman and the Province of Panuco in New Spain 1518-1533 *(Arthur H. Clark Co., Box 230, Glendale, Calif., 1967. 322 pp., illus., index, $9.50).* by DONALD E. CHIPMAN ‡

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Prehistory in the Navajo Reservoir District, Northwestern New Mexico *(Museum of New Mexico Press, Santa Fe, 1966. 2 v., 631 pp., illus., map, plans, biblio., $10.00 set).* by FRANK W. EDDY with sections by THOMAS HARLAN, KENNETH A. BENNETT AND ERIK K. REED ‡

Prospector, Cowhand, and Sodbuster: Historic Places Associated with the Mining, Ranching, and Farming Frontiers in the Trans-Mississippi West *(U.S. Dept. of Interior, Natl. Park Service, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967. Vol. XI, The National Survey of Historic Sites & Bldgs., 320 pp., illus., index, $3.00).* series editor, ROBERT G. FERRIS ‡

The Railroad That Lighted Southern California. Rev. ed. *(Trans-Anglo, Los Angeles, 1966. 128 pp., illus., maps, $7.50).* by HANK JOHNSON ‡

Ranald S. Mackenzie's Official Correspondence Relating to Texas, 1871-1873 *(West Texas Museum Association, Lubbock, 1967. 202 pp., intro.).* edited by ERNEST WALLACE ‡

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Relaciones by Zarate Salmeron: First English Translation in Book Form *(Horn & Wallace, Albuquerque, 1966. 122 pp., biblio., notes, $6.00).* by ALICIA RONSTADT MILICH ‡

Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness: The Story of America's Long Hot Summer of Hate *(Bantam Books, N.Y., 1967. 512 pp., biblio., sources & references, pap., 95c).* by ROBERT CONOT ‡

Rock Art of the American Indian *(Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N.Y., 1967. Notes, illus., biblio., index, $12.95).* written and illustrated by CAMPBELL GRANT ‡

The Rock Art of Texas Indians *(University of Texas, Austin, 1967. 239 pp., plates, maps, biblio., app., index, $12.50).* Paintings by Forrest Kirkland. text by W. W. NEWCOMB, JR. ‡

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The Great American Desert: Then and Now (*Oxford University Press, New York, 1966. 284 pp., preface, intro., illus., biblio., notes, index, $6.00*). by W. EUGENE HOLLON †32

The Great American Series (*Pacific Coast Publishers, Redwood City, Calif.*). *4

Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints 1830-1900 (*University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, $2.40*).
by L. J. ARRINGTON *35

Great Western Indian Fights (*University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, $1.95*).
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Green Russell and Gold—a Narrative Family History of Mining Frontiers (*University of Texas Press, Austin, 1966. 239 pp., illus., maps, appendix, biblio., index, $6.00*).
by ELMA DILL RUSSELL SPENCER ‡

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History of North Dakota (*University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1966. 599 pp., preface, illus., maps, biblio., index, $7.95*).
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History of Wyoming (*University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, $6.95*). by T. A. LARSON *35

Ho! For the Gold Fields—Northern Overland Wagon Trains of the 1860's. Diaries, Letters and Reports (*Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1966, 289 pp., intro., illus., maps, appendix, index, $8.50*).
edited by HELEN MCCANN WHITE ‡

The Horsemen of the Americas (*University of Texas Press, Austin. Illus. $10.00*).
by E. L. TINKER *28

Howell-North Facsimile Reproduction Series, California and Nevada Histories (*Howell-North, Berkeley, Calif.*). *18

The Indian. America's Unfinished Business. (*University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1966. 236 pp., preface, illus., notes, appendix, index, $5.95*).
edited by WILLIAM A. BROPHY AND SOPHIE D. ABERLE ‡

Indian Peace Medals Issued in the United States 1789-1889 (*N. Flayderman & Co., New Milford, Conn., 1966. 46 pp., illus., $6.50*).
by BAUMAN L. BELDEN ‡

Indian Police and Judges. Experiments in Acculturation and Control (*Yale University Press, New Haven, 1966. 194 pp., illus., notes, biblio., index, $6.50*). by WILLIAM T. HAGAN ‡

Ishi in Two Worlds (*University of California Press, Berkeley, $5.95*).
by THEODORA KROEBER *15

Jackass Express and Other Western Stories (*Exposition Press, N.Y., 1966, 158 pp., $4.00*).
by CHARLES OVERILL ‡

James W. Marshall: The Discoverer of California Gold. A Biography (*Talisman Press, Georgetown, Calif., 1967. Drawings, maps, notes, appendix, 500 pp., $10.00*). by THERESSA GAY *26

Jesse James Was His Name, or, Fact and Fiction Concerning the Careers of the Notorious James Brothers of Missouri (*University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 1966. 263 pp., illus., maps, notes, biblio., index, $6.00*).
by WILLIAM A. SETTLE, JR. †23

Jim Beckwourth, Negro Mountain Man (*Dodd, Mead & Co., N.Y. Photos, prints, maps, $3.50*).
by HAROLD W. FELTON *6

John Selman, Texas Gunfighter (*Hastings House, N.Y., 1966. 254 pp., intro., illus., notes, biblio., index, $6.95*). by LEON CLAIRE METZ ‡

King Fisher: His Life and Times (*University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1966. 157 pp., biblio., $2.00*). by O. C. FISHER AND J. C. DYKES ‡

The Land of Poco Tiempo (*Illustrated Facsimile Edition, University of New Mexico Press. Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1966. 310 pp., $5.00*).
by CHARLES F. LUMMIS †33

Languages, Territories and Names of California Indian Tribes (*University of California Press, Berkeley. Maps and bibliography, $4.00*).
by ROBERT F. HEIZER *15

The Legend of Grizzly Adams (*Coward-McCann, N.Y., $5.00*). by RICHARD DILLON *23

Letters from the West: Containing Sketches, of Scenery, Manners, and Customs; and Anecdotes Connected with the First Settlements of the Western Sections of the United States (*Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, Gainesville, Florida, 1967. 385 pp., intro., $10.00*).
by JAMES HALL ‡

The Long Long Trail, A Reminiscence (*Houghton Mifflin, Boston. $3.95*).
by VIRGINIA WEISEL JOHNSON *32

Lost Bonanzas (*Dodd, Mead & Co., N.Y. Map and Index, $5.00*). by HARRY SINCLAIR DRAGO *6

Love Song to the Plains (*University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1966. 305 pp., foreword, illus., map, biblio., index, $1.85*). by MARI SANDOZ †32

Marine History of the Pacific Northwest (*Superior Publishing Co., Seattle. 736 pp., index, notes, limited edition, $100*).
by H. W. MCCURDY *5

Mark Twain's Letters to his Publishers: 1867-1894. (*University of California Press, Berkeley, 1967. 388 pp., intro., appendix, $10.00*).
edited by HAMLIN HILL †11, *15

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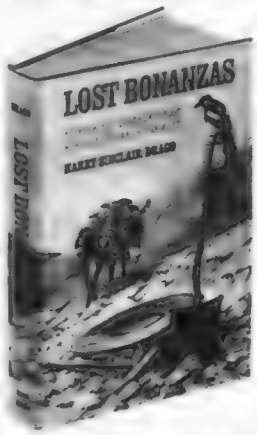

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edited by JOHN S. TUCKEY ‡, *15

Meriwether Lewis: A Biography (*Coward-McCann, N.Y. $6.95*). by RICHARD DILLON *23

Mirrors, Mice, & Moustaches: A Sampling of Superstitions & Popular Beliefs in Texas (*The Texas Folklore Society, Austin, 1966. 110 pp., intro., index, $3.00*).
by GEORGE D. HENDRICKS ‡

The Mississippi Valley Frontier: the Age of French Exploration and Settlement (*The Bobbs-Merrill Co., N.Y., 1966. 423 pp., maps, notes, biblio., index, $8.50*).
by JOHN ANTHONY CARUSO ‡

The Monroe Doctrine and American Expansion (*Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., 1966. 289 pp., index, $6.95*). by FREDERICK MERK ‡

More Tales of the Tularosa (*Bennett Printing Company, Alamogordo, New Mexico, 1966. 59 pp., illus.*). Stories and recollections of the area around White Sands, New Mexico.
by MRS. TOM CHARLES ‡

Mountain Men. George Frederick Ruxton's Firsthand Accounts of Fur Trappers and Indians in the Rockies (*Holiday House, N.Y., 1966. 278 pp., glossary, illus., $3.95*).
edited and illustrated by GLEN ROUNDS ‡

Navajo Indians Today (*The Naylor Co., San Antonio, 1966. 80 pp., illus., $3.95*).
by DOROTHY F. ROBINSON ‡

Navajo Wildlands (*Sierra Club, San Francisco, color photos*). Exhibit Format Series. *19

Nevada: the Great Rotten Borough, 1859-1964 (*Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., 1966. 247 pp., biblio., notes, index, $4.95*).
by GILMAN M. OSTRANDER †17

News From Fort Craig, New Mexico, 1863. Civil War Letters of Andrew Ryan With the California Column (*Stagecoach Press, Santa Fe, 1966. 72 pp., $6.50*).
introduction and notes by ERNEST MARCHAND ‡

Of Men and Rivers, (*Dodd, Mead & Co., N.Y. $6.95*). by VIRGINIA S. EIFERT *6

The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner, with Stephen Watts Kearny to New Mexico and California, 1846. (*University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1966. 173 pp., intro., index, $5.00*).
edited by DWIGHT L. CLARKE ‡

The Peyote Religion Among the Navajo (*Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1966. 454 pp., illus., notes., appendix, biblio., index, $10.00*).
by DAVID F. ABERLE ‡

Pioneer Surveyor-Frontier Lawyer: The Personal Narrative of O. W. Williams, 1877-1902 (*Texas Western Press, El Paso, 1966. 350 pp., intro., illus., maps, $10.00*).
edited by S. D. MYRES †22

A Record of Travels in Arizona and California 1775-1776, Fr. Francisco Garces (*John Howell, San Francisco, $7.50*).
edited by JOHN GALVIN *34

The Rediscovery of New Mexico 1580-1594 (*University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, $12.50*). Coronado Historical Series No. 3.
by GEORGE P. HAMMOND AND AGAPITO REY *31

The Red Man's West. True Stories of the Frontier Indians . . . (*Hastings House, N.Y., 1965. 342 pp., illus., notes, index, $10.00*).
edited by MICHAEL S. KENNEDY ‡

Reference Encyclopedia of The American Indian (*B. Klein & Company, N.Y., 544 pp., $15.00*) *30

Retreat to Nevada: A Socialist Colony of World War I (*The Lancehead Series, University of Nevada Press, Reno, 1966. $5.25*).
by WILBUR S. SHEPPERSON †16

The Rocky Mountain West in 1867 (*University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1966. 170 pp., notes, appendix, index, $5.50*).
by LOUIS L. SIMONIN; translated by WILSON O. CLOUGH ‡, *35

A Room for the Night: Hotels of the Old West (*Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1966. 162 pp., illus., notes, index, $4.95*).
by RICHARD A. VAN ORMAN †26

San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis (*Howell-North Books, Berkeley, California, 1966. 274 pp., illus., maps, biblio., index, $6.95*).
by OSCAR LEWIS †36

The Sea of Cortez (*Lane Magazine & Book Company, Menlo Park, California, 1966. 284 pp., illus., maps, biblio., glossary, index, $11.75*).
by RAY GANNON †35, *39

Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity (*Howell-North, Berkeley, Calif. Illus., $6.00*).
edited by R. R. OLMSTED *18

Ships that Sail No More: Marine Transportation from San Diego to Puget Sound, 1910-1940 (*University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1966. 287 pp., illus., notes, appendix, biblio., index, $7.50*). by GILES T. BROWN ‡

The Shoshoneans. The People of the Basin-Plateau (*William Morrow & Co., N.Y., 1966. 96 pp., illus., notes, $6.95*). by EDWARD DORN; photographs by LEROY LUCAS ‡

Sketches of Early Texas and Louisiana (*University of Texas Press, Austin, 1966. 169 pp., intro., notes, biblio., index, $5.00*).
by FREDERIC GAILLARDET; translated by JAMES L. SHEPHERD ‡

Snowplow: Clearing Mountain Rails (*Howell-North Books, Berkeley, California, 1966. 119 pp., illus., appendix, index, $6.00*).
by GERALD M. BEST †36

Songs of the American West (*University of California Press, Berkeley, 1967. $15.00*).
by R. E. LINGENFELTER, R. A. DWYER AND D. COHEN *15

Songs of the Gold Rush (*University of California Press, Berkeley, $3.50*).
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Spain in America (*Harper & Row, N.Y., 1966. 239 pp., intro., illus., notes, biblio., index, $6.95*).
by CHARLES GIBSON ‡

The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico. An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders of New Spain: 1523-1572 (*University of California Press, Berkeley, 1966. 423 pp., appendix, essay on sources, notes, biblio., index, $10.00*). by ROBERT RICARD; translated by LESLEY BIRD SIMPSON ‡

Spurs to Glory. The Story of the United States Cavalry (*Rand McNally & Co., 1966. 302 pp., illus., biblio., index, $6.95*).
by JAMES M. MERRILL ‡

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Sutter's Fort: Gateway to the Gold Fields (*American Forts Series, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966. 223 pp., illus., maps, biblio., index, $6.95*). by OSCAR LEWIS †27

Tales of Frontier Texas, 1830-1860 (*Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, 1966. 315 pp., intro., index, $5.95*).
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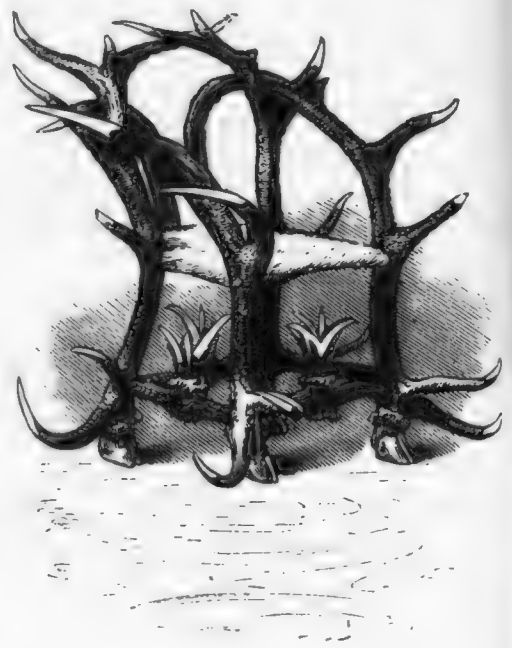

The Sunny Slopes of Long Ago *(Southern Methodist University, Austin, 1966. 204 pp., illus., notes, index, $5.95).* Texas Folklore Society Publication XXXIII.
edited by WILSON M. HUDSON AND ALLEN MAXWELL ‡

Ten Tall Texans *(Naylor, San Antonio, 1967. 132 pp., illus., biblio., index, $4.95).*
by DANIEL JAMES KUBIAK ‡

Theodore Roosevelt: The Man As I Knew Him *(Dodd, Mead & Co., N.Y., 1967. Illus., notes, index, $5.95).*
by NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT †21

Thomas Nuttall, Naturalist; Explorations in America, 1808-1841 *(Harvard University, Cambridge, 1967. 481 pp., illus., biblio., index, $11.95).* by JEANNETTE E. GRAUSTEIN ‡

Three Men in Texas: Bedichek, Webb, and Dobie *(University of Texas, Austin, 1967. 285 pp., intro., illus., $6.50).*
edited by RONNIE DUGGER ‡

Tough Trip Through Paradise: 1878-1879 by Andrew Garcia *(Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1967. 446 pp., illus., $6.95).* The reminiscence of one man's life among the Indians.
edited by BENNETT H. STEIN *26, †22

Two Leggings: The Making of a Crow Warrior *(Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N.Y., 1967. 226 pp., illus., maps, notes, index, $6.95).*
by PETER NABOKOV ‡

Two Thousand Miles on Horseback: A Summer Tour Through Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and New Mexico, in the Year 1866 *(Horn & Wallace, Albuquerque, 1966. 317 pp., map, app., $6.00).*
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An Unwritten History: A Record from the Exciting Days of Early Arizona *(Stagecoach Press, Santa Fe, N.M., 1966. 62 pp., facsim., Southwest Ser., 4, $4.50).*
by EDWARD WILSON ‡

Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer *(University of California, Berkeley, $10.00).*
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CORRECTION

In the "Current Western Books" for the June 15, 1967 issue of *The American West Review*, we listed several titles issued under the imprint of University Microfilms, Inc., at a single-volume price of $6.00. This was an error. These titles are part of the Xerox Corporation's "March of America" series, which is comprised of facsimile editions of one hundred books chosen for their usefulness to the historian and is available *only* as a complete set—at a price of $600.00.

The War on the Powder River *(University of Nebraska, Lincoln, $1.95, pap.).*
by HELENA HUNTINGTON SMITH *28

The Water Crisis *(Frederick A. Praeger, N.Y., 1967. Maps, appen., index, $5.95).*
by SENATOR FRANK E. MOSS ‡

Texas Riverman: The Life and Times of Captain Andrew Smyth (*University of Texas Press, Austin, 1966. 181 pp., intro., illus., maps, notes, biblio., index, $5.00*). by WILLIAM SEALE ‡

They Sang for Horses. The Impact of the Horse on Navajo and Apache Folklore (*University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1966. 225 pp., illus., notes, biblio., index, $12.00*).
by LAVERNE HARRELL CLARK ‡

This Land Was Theirs: A Study of the North American Indian (*John Wiley & Sons, N.Y., 1966. 560 pp., intro., maps, notes, biblio., index, $9.95*). by WENDELL H. OSWALT †26

Three Flags at the Straits: the Forts of Mackinac (*American Forts Series, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966. 219 pp., prologue, illus., maps, biblio., index, $6.95*).
by WALTER HAVIGHURST ‡

Timothy O'Sullivan: America's Forgotten Photographer (*Doubleday & Co., 1966. 334 pp., illus., notes, biblio., index, $15.00*).
by JAMES D. HORAN †20

Tom Walsh in Dakota Territory: Personal Correspondence of Senator Thomas J. Walsh and Elinor C. McClements (*University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1966. 301 pp., intro., illus., appendices, biblio., index, $7.95*).
edited by J. LEONARD BATES †34

A Treasury of Nebraska Pioneer Folklore (*University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1966. 391 pp., appendices, biblio., index.*).
compiled by ROGER L. WELSCH ‡

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge (*University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1966. 237 pp., illus., notes, biblio., index, $5.95*).
by DOUGLAS C. JONES ‡

To California and the South Seas. The Diary of Albert G. Osbun, 1849-1851 (*The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., 1966. 233 pp., intro., appendix, index, $6.50*).
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by LOUIS FILLER ‡

Up and Down California in 1860-1864: the Journal of William H. Brewer, Professor of Agriculture in the Sheffield Scientific School from 1864 to 1903 (*University of California Press, Berkeley, 3rd edition, 1966. 583 pp., intro., illus., notes, index, $10.00*).
edited by FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR †26, *15

The Wagonmasters: High Plains Freighting from the Earliest Days of the Santa Fe Trail to 1880 (*University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1966. 347 pp., illus., biblio., index, $5.95*).
by HENRY PICKERING WALKER †34

War Drums and Wagon Wheels: The Story of Russell, Majors and Waddell (*University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1966. 268 pp., tables, notes, biblio., appendix, index, $5.95*).
by RAYMOND W. AND MARY LUND SETTLE ‡, *35

Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier (*Third Edition, The Macmillan Company, N.Y., 1967. 933 pp., illus., biblio., index, $9.50*).
by RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON AND JAMES BLAINE HEDGES ‡

When Buffalo Ran (*University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1966. 114 pp., illus., $2.00*). Incidents in the life of an Indian boy.
by GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL ‡

When the Eagle Screamed: the Romantic Horizon in American Diplomacy, 1800-1860 (*John Wiley and Sons, N.Y., 1966. 138 pp., maps, notes, biblio., index*).
by WILLIAM H. GOETZMANN ‡

The Wild Turkey. Its History and Domestication. (*University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1966. 625 pp., biblio., illus., index, $10.00*).
by A. W. SCHORGER ‡

With Heritage So Rich. A Report of a Special Committee on Historic Preservation . . . (*Random House, N.Y., 1966. 230 pp., foreword, illus., biblio., index, $10.00*).
by ALBERT RAINS AND LAURANCE G. HENDERSON ‡

The World's Rim: Great Mysteries of the North American Indians (*University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, $1.80*). by H. B. ALEXANDER *35

The Yellowlegs. The Story of the United States Cavalry (*Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N.Y., 1966. 468 pp., illus., maps, index, $6.50*).
by RICHARD WORMSER ‡

What with Remington drawings on the covers and Comstock photographs in the middle of the magazine, we take the opportunity to combine themes and present several of J. Ross Browne's delightful sketches of Virginia City (Nevada) folks here and there throughout this issue.

The fruit of trips to the Comstock Lode in 1860 and 1863, these sketches originally appeared with the accounts entitled "A Peep at Washoe" and "Washoe Revisited," published with other materials in book form in 1864 and 1878, respectively. Some time ago these two classics were reissued in a single volume by Paisano Press (Balboa Island, California, 1959, $6.00).

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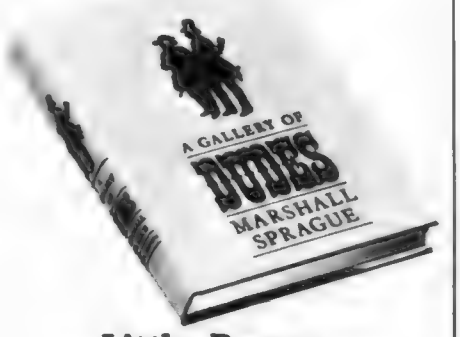

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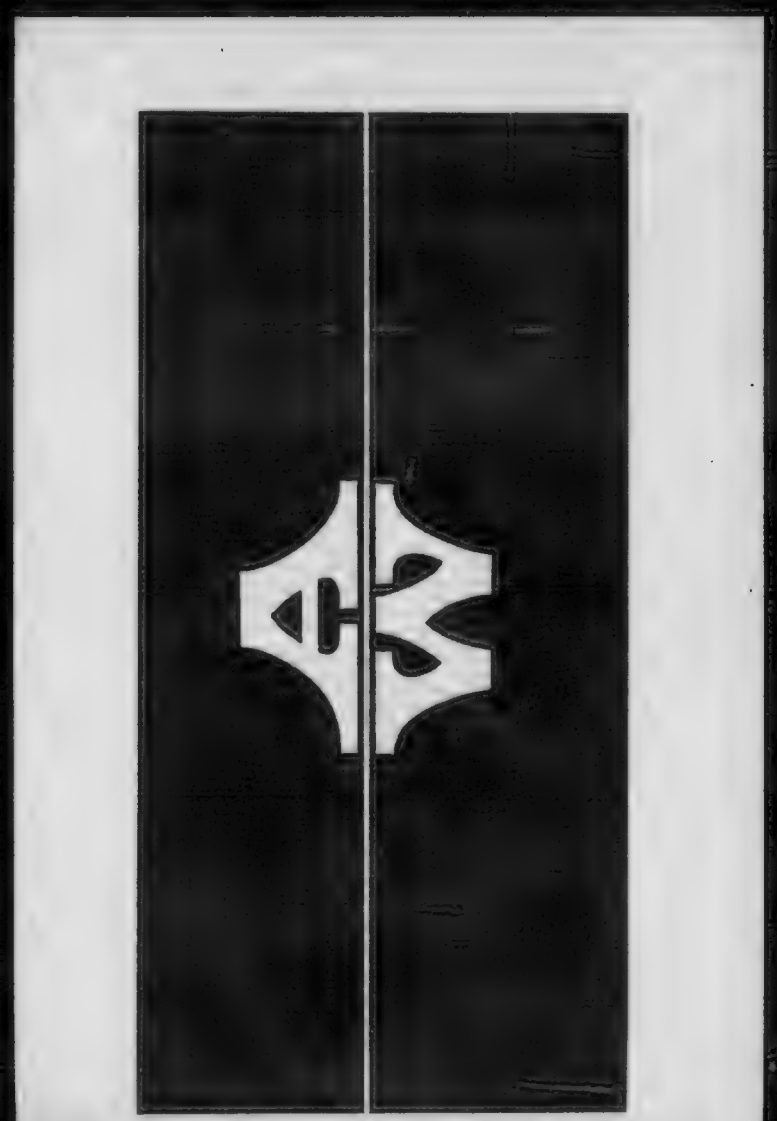

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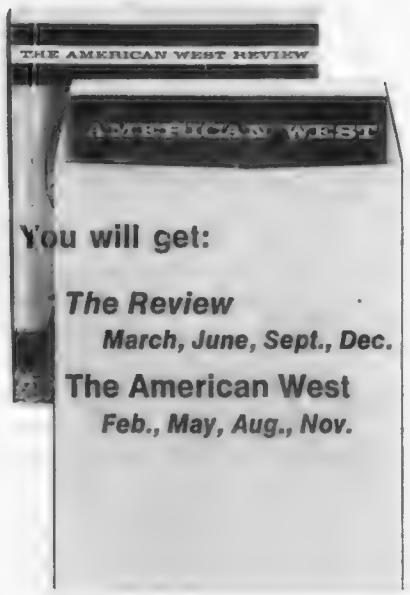

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LITERATURE AND THE AMERICAN WEST

By Owen Ulph

i

Year by year the West recedes. Violent death is a privilege reserved for cattle browsing along highways. House trailers, campers, and Hondas infest shrinking open spaces not yet debased by subdividers. Power companies induce city-bred, pseudo-ranchers to install garish yard lights that burn from sundown till sunup and desecrate the dark of the night. It is no longer possible to regard the present American West as more than an area on the map. The features that gave it distinction have disappeared. Yet so vivid has been the impact of the West on popular fancy that the flow of writing concerned with western subjects continues to lag behind demand.

Passion for western literature probably reflects mass nostalgia for the excitement and illusory freedom of a spacious past. A similar urban malaise was manifested in the declining years of feudalism which saw an effervescence of maudlin chivalric romances that kept the nimble fingers of William Caxton busy. Most of these lugubrious medieval horse operas were trash. *Don Quixote* was not written as a satire on knight-errantry, but as a satire on the literature of knight-errantry. This evokes suggestive questions. Has authentic western literature vanished with the culture that gave rise to it, and have we nothing to anticipate but a rash of fiction acceptable only as *camp,* the contemporary cult that exalts works "so bad that they're good"? Stated positively, can we continue to expect vitality from western literature?

Before answering, it is pertinent to review two related questions apparently so elementary they are seldom asked. What constitutes western literature and, contingently, what constitutes the American West?

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A candidate for a degree in biology was asked to differentiate between a frog and a toad. It did not ease the student's cerebral embarrassment when, after prolonged silence, the examiner, a product of western perversity, told him not to worry because any country boy could describe the difference if someone needed to know. Such is the shortcoming of an academic approach to Reality. Scholars quibble over definitions of the West while laymen take the term for granted. The West is the West, as even a fool knows. It is a place where the cowhand puts his foot on a rail instead of his rump on a stool, where the sheriff tacks up a leaflet offering REWARD for the desperado who swaggers up, rips it down, laughs scornfully, and rides off into the scenery.

Unquestionably, defining a mammoth abstraction is as exasperating as packing a mule with one rope. If the rope is used to hobble the varmint, you can't hitch the load. If the rope is used to secure the pack, you are left to pursue a hind-end propelled in dusty circles by a cephalic pivot of awe-inspiring obstinacy. Gene Daniels, a cowhand endowed with pragmatic genius, used to recommend sticking the head of the mule between the fork of a tree and pounding a six-foot crowbar in one ear and out the other. This was called "turning a mule into a longhorn." In the absence of a forked tree, we must resign ourselves to circumambulation.

Historically, the term American West could be regarded as redundant. When, in 1493, Pope Alexander VI assigned all lands one hundred leagues west of the Azores to Spain, he demarcated an area within which all the Americas, north and south, were included — a roomy definition which justifies the western expansionist in claiming, with specious reasoning, half the entire globe.

The American West has been equated, more modestly, with the *frontier,* thus implying a set of conditions rather than a fixed locale. Historians also refer to the "Agricultural Frontier," the "Mining Frontier," the "Cattle Frontier," and the "Indian Frontier," and designate varied pioneering fringe ventures accordingly. As America's space program evolves, the moon conceivably becomes the next frontier, and the concept of the American West acquires new dimensions. Despite the elasticity of this definition, the West does not encompass the universe. Behind the molten frontier, there always solidified a stabilized zone where effete non-westerners yielded to security. Frontier conditions disappeared rapidly with settlement and urbanization, and the West became a concept restricted to those areas where population remained less than one person per square mile. With the exception of sub-marginal pockets of desolation, habitable portions of the United States passed out of this category in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Frederick Jackson Turner, citing the U.S. Census Report of 1890, officially closed the frontier and the West vaporized.

If this statisticalization of the concept were accepted, the gloomy conclusion that writers concerned with the West were condemned to become parochial antiquarians and obsolete troubadors strumming vulgarized *chansons de geste* would be inescapable. Fortunately, although Turner scuttled the frontier, human attitudes remained afloat. To the cultural historian, the West is conceived as more than a hostile landscape and a gantlet of Augean labors. Elemental to the basic dramatic image of the West was the *Westerner* and his dream of *Opportunity.* This peculiar individual of primitive simplicity, who planted the seed of empire in underdeveloped wilderness, is described by a resplendent array of muscular adjectives, such as *rugged, resourceful, vigorous, independent, invincible,* and *democratic* — the stuff from which presidential timber is no longer hewn. The tenacity with which this stalwart rustic archetype grips the imagination is remarkable. Jack Schaefer, creator of that frontier Manfred, Shane, has just published a roundup of short stories, which, together with his earlier works, serves monolithic specimens of *homo-bucolicus* unstintingly to cannibalistic readers. Ultimately, this monotonous fare becomes so indigestible

(*Continued on page 29*)

NATIONAL TREASURES?

terminating in the cleft feet of that animal. That for the Vice-President is made of bear-skins, the seat being supported by an enormous head with distended jaws; the semicircular back and the legs show the sharp-pointed claws of some of old Kinman's California acquaintances.

from Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, March 17, 1877.

Editor's Note: To the first reader who furnishes information as to the certain whereabouts of these peculiarly western contributions to the heritage of the republic: an enlargement, suitable for framing, of one chair or the other; or views of both chairs, upon delivery at 2175 Allston Way, Berkeley, of either *chair (prepaid, please).*

Water: The Vital Essence *(Harper & Row, N.Y., 1967. 223 pp., illus., biblio., index, $5.95).* by PETER BRIGGS ‡

Western Americana Series: (1) Old Town Albuquerque, 1706 to present; (2) La Fond, the Inn of Santa Fe; (3) Little Known Facts About Billy the Kid; (4) Ghost Towns and How to Get to Them (5) A Directory of New Mexico Desperados; (6) The Gringo and Greaser; (7) Adolphe Francis Alphonse Bandelier; (8) A Chronology of the Lincoln County War; (9) Doc Middleton, The Unwickedest Outlaw; (10) Legal Hangings; (11) The Lynching of Elizabeth Taylor; (12) Frontier Humor; (13) A Virginian in New Mexico *(Monographs issued by the Press of the Territorian, Box 1847, Santa Fe, N.M., illus., $1.00 each).* ‡

Wilderness and the American Mind *(Yale University, New Haven, $6.50).* by RODERICK NASH *2

Wilderness Kingdom: The Journals and Paintings of Father Nicolas Point *(Holt, Rinehart and Winston, N.Y., 1967. Illus., $21.95).* translated by JOSEPH P. DONNELLY, S.J. *25

William Anderson Scott: "No Ordinary Man" *(Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Calif., 1967. 352 pp., illus., biblio., app., index, $6.50).* by CLIFFORD MERRILL DRURY ‡

William Sanders Oury: History-Maker of the Southwest *(University of Arizona, Tucson, 1967. 298 pp., illus., biblio., notes, index, $7.50).* by CORNELIUS C. SMITH, JR. ‡

With Brass and Gas: An Illustrated and Embellished Chronicle of Ballooning in Mid-Nineteenth Century America *(Beacon Press, Boston, 1967. 238 pp., illus., $6.00).* by MUNSON BALDWIN †23

The XIT Ranch of Texas and the Early Days of the Llano Estacado *(University of Oklahoma, Norman [c. 1929], 1967. 258 pp., biblio., app., notes, index, $2.00).* by J. EVETTS HALEY †27

Zachary Taylor *(Barnes & Noble, Inc., N.Y., 1967 [c. 1946]. 455 pp., illus., biblio., notes, essay, index, $10.00).* by BRAINERD DYER ‡

STATISTICS.

10 mills make a cent.
10 cents make a dime.
10 dimes make a dollar.
10 dollars make an eagle.
$1,000,000 in gold coin
weighs 3,685.8 pounds.

Alabama admitted, 1819.
A quintal of fish is 122 lbs.
Arkansas seceded, 1861.

Great earthquake in Peru, 1828.

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Probably the earliest of known prints of Santa Catalina Island, this 17″ x 23″ colored lithograph, by an anonymous lithographer, done about 1900, is extremely rare, originals being virtually non-existent and worth $250 or more. This early view shows Avalon Harbor from the top of the hill at the end of Upper Terrace, above Abalone Point, looking across Avalon Bay. Casino Point, as it is known today, is plainly visible. The contour of Avalon's renowned harbor is easily recognizable, but the quiet atmosphere centering around the beach, the pier, the Metropole Hotel and the first few homes has greatly changed. This print is a unique vignette of by-gone history of a locale well known to southern California yachtsmen and visitors to Santa Catalina Island today.

It is lithographed in color by the Ward Ritchie Press, noted for its fine printing, typography and beautiful bindings, as well as its interest in early Californiana. This edition is limited to 500 copies, suitable for framing, and it will recall early California days to everyone who has visited Santa Catalina Island and its famed harbor of Avalon.

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David Brower in the *Preface* to *Glacier Bay*

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THE VIOLENT LAND

By Ferol Egan

Last spring I crossed the border at El Paso, drove through Ciudad Juárez, and entered northern Mexico. It was a cool day, and the wind was not blowing. These are simple facts, but they became very important just south of Juárez. Here I entered the Samalyuca Desert, whose shifting dunes add their weight to the traveler's growing sense of uneasiness, a deep-seated wariness that asks: "Suppose the engine coughs, sputters, and dies? Suppose the wind blows up a sandstorm? Suppose the temperature rises, and the engine overheats? What then?" And even though the Mexican government patrols its highways and roads with the "Green Fleet"—trucks manned by two mechanics who have spare parts, gas, oil, tires, and water—the worry of a breakdown persists. For this is a big, violent land, a broody land. It is, as Florence and Robert Lister point out in their remarkable history, *Chihuahua: Storehouse of Storms*, "a somber, silent realm of tawny, denuded plains with little water and shade or high, rugged mountains cut by vast canyons." All this is tough country where natural violence is a way of life. Yet this violent land has been crisscrossed and tramped up and down by many men for many reasons.

To truly understand why men have subjected themselves to the demands of such a hard country, it is necessary to consider the relationship of myth and reality in Mexico's history. Myth has played a major role. A people willing to face the harshness of desert reality had to believe all the way. If they had not been such true believers, they would not have pursued the myths of the Seven Cities of Cíbola and the riches of Quivira. But they had the historical reality of the success of Cortez and Pizarro going for them, and such realities made any golden myth seem plausible. After all, was it not possible that somewhere north of Mexico City there were other golden cities to be plundered, other heathen souls to be saved? So, believing in the reality they knew, believing in their own God, the Spaniards moved north in search of golden myths. Instead, they found the reality of a violent land.

By 1546, the Spaniards had established the frontier settlement of Zacatecas. This became a jumping-off point for the unknown. Here Francisco de Ibarra said "adios" and headed north in 1565. With him were sixty soldiers, Indian servants, an interpreter, and enough horses for a long journey. Near present-day Durango, the party crossed the steep-walled barrancas of the Sierra Madre Occidental. They stopped and rested at the Pacific Coast outpost of Culiacán. North of Culiacán they were attacked by Indians and driven across the sierra to the plains country of northwestern Chihuahua. They saw Casas Grandes, and then made the mistake of going back across the sierra into Sonora. This trip almost ended the expedition. From Sonora they finally worked their way safely back to Zacatecas.

Wild Indians, dry marches, and the dreadful sierra should have been enough to kill Ibarra's dream, but the Listers make it quite clear that Ibarra's pursuit of myth became at least one kind of reality when he was made governor of Nueva Viscaya:

> Before his death in 1575, at the age of 36, Ibarra saw the founding of Chihuahua's first mine and first hacienda, setting the pattern of the two industries, mining and grazing. . . . He stretched his provincial frontier line from Saltillo and Parras on the east to San Felipe at the mouth of the Sinaloa River on the west. . . .

The pursuit of myths did not die with Ibarra. His success encouraged others and gave them such jumping-off points as Santa Bárbara and Saltillo, far north of Zacatecas. *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, is a splendid source book for the indigenous literature of five other expeditions that departed from these northern frontier towns and chased the golden dream into Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. The Gallegos account of the Chamuscado-Rodríguez Expedition in 1581-82 has the stuff of which epics are made. Leaving from Santa Bárbara in Chihuahua, Captain Chamuscado and Fray Rodríguez led a party that "consisted of three friars and nine soldiers, nineteen Indian servants, six hundred head of stock, and ninety horses. . . ." Chamuscado died thirty leagues short of returning to Santa Bárbara, and Father Rodríguez and a Father López remained with the Tigua Indians near the Río Grande. When the Espejo Expedition visited these Indians in 1583, they learned that the padres had been murdered. Even so, the door to the north had been opened, pueblos had been visited, and "the frontier must have buzzed with excitement. . . ." The acceptance of myth made the realities of savages, deserts, and unknown dangers worth the risk. To believe, to seek, and to endure became a trinity of southwestern exploration.

Chihuahua: Storehouse of Storms by Florence C. and Robert H. Lister (*University of New Mexico Press, $6.50*).

The Rediscovery of New Mexico by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (*University of New Mexico Press, $12.50*).

The Hidalgo Revolt by Hugh M. Hamill, Jr. (*University of Florida Press, $7.50*).

Climax at Buena Vista by David Lavender (*J. B. Lippincott, $4.50*).

Even after the period of exploration the same combination of myth and reality prevailed. The dream of golden cities died, but the dream of a free Mexico took its place. Considering the role of priests in exploration, it is not strange that the first strike for Mexican Independence was led by Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costillo. Hidalgo's role in the revolt of 1810 is examined in the scholarly if rather dry *The Hidalgo Revolt* by Hugh M. Hamill, Jr. Professor Hamill presents all the facts about this fascinating priest, but his prose style does not do justice to Hidalgo's unusual life. Still,

(Continued on page 23)

SOME NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE ELEPHANT

By J. S. Holliday

Under any circumstance, the writing of a diary requires considerable perseverance. That so many California goldseekers maintained daily records of their overland and ocean journeys remains one of the remarkable characteristics of that great adventure. More than three hundred diaries written in 1849 and 1850 on the several overland trails to California have survived and are today available in published form or as manuscripts in private and public collections. As well, hundreds of letters tell of the journey, while over one hundred diaries—published and manuscript—recount life in California's mining camps and boom cities of 1849 and 1850. That additional diaries will be added to these impressive totals is a certainty, for each year a few more are discovered in attics and old trunks, and other recesses where history hides.

With few exceptions, most diary-keepers were family men, motivated in their task by a desire to share the great experience with those back home. Thousands must have left with the promise to keep a daily record, but finding the duty too burdensome soon gave it up. John Wood concluded his *Journal* (Chillicothe, 1852) with a lament probably shared by others who had persevered: "Imagine my tiresome task of keeping this journal which I found to be far greater than I ever anticipated. Only think when weary, faint, and hungry of sitting down and committing whole pages to writing, day after day for months. O! how many thousand times have I regretted that I ever undertook the task." Another diary-keeper recalled an evening on the trail when he was writing his daily entry and a companion exclaimed: "My God, McKinstry, why do you write about this trip so you can remember it? All I hope for is to get home, alive, as soon as possible, so that I can forget it."

But forget it they never did, nor have the American people. Our memory has been refreshed by gold rush books that have appeared with almost annual regularity since the 1850's. Most of these hundreds of publications have been the diaries and reminiscences of those who had "seen the elephant." First published by returned argonauts, who paid hometown printers to run off a few hundred copies of their journals (often self-consciously revised for public scrutiny), complemented in the 1880's and 1890's by reminiscences issued "at the earnest request of relatives and intimate friends," and in the last thirty years edited by scholars and published in limited and commercial editions, these eye-witness accounts of the wilderness trek and of life in El Dorado are deserving of recognition for what they are: a folk literature probably unique in the history of migration and unquestionably significant as an intimate reflection of a great national experience.

As a staple in western Americana, gold rush literature inevitably has been exploited by some publishers and editors. An example is the latest edition of Reuben Cole Shaw's reminiscence, *Across the Plains in '49*. First published in the weekly issues of the Farmland, Indiana, *Enterprise*, then brought out as a book by that press in 1896, Shaw's account now appears under the imprint of the Citadel Press (1966), "edited, with an introduction by Milo Milton Quaife." This is an ugly little book, presenting an account inferior to numerous other recollective descriptions of the journey. Moreover, it is *not* what it might appear to be: a new edition with introduction and footnotes. It is nothing more than a photo-copy of the 1948 edition published by R. R. Donnelly & Sons in the "Lakeside Classics" series. The Quaife introduction and notes for that edition are re-used by Citadel, without acknowledgement.

In striking and rewarding contrast, the University of Kentucky Press earlier this year produced a stunning book on all counts: *Gold Rush Diary,* edited by Thomas D. Clark. With a generous 9x11-inch format, end-papers, and full-page (even double-page) maps that are effective guides to the overland trail; with luxurious margins and dramatic pen-and-ink drawings; and, most welcome of all, with marginal footnotes that are easy and inviting to read—with all these and other features reflective of imaginative book design, the University of Ken-

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Across the Plains in '49 by Reuben Cole Shaw. Edited by Milo Milton Quaife (*The Citadel Press, $4.50*).

Gold Rush Diary: Being the Journal of Elisha Douglass Perkins on the Overland Trail in the Spring and Summer of 1849 edited by Thomas D. Clark (*University of Kentucky Press, $8.75*).

The Diaries of Peter Decker: Overland to California in 1849 and Life in the Mines, 1850-1851 edited by Helen S. Giffen (*The Talisman Press, 1966, $10.00*).

The California Gold Discovery: Sources, Documents, Accounts, and Memoires Relating to the Discovery of Gold at Sutter's Mill by Rodman W. Paul (*The Talisman Press, $12.50*).

The Buckeye Rovers in the Gold Rush edited by Howard L. Scamehorn (*Ohio University Press, $5.00*).

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tucky Press has created what will certainly be a classic in gold rush publishing.

Justifying this distinguished presentation is a superlative diary. From his departure from St. Jo in late May to his arrival in the Sacramento Valley in late September, 1849, Elisha Douglass Perkins kept a daily record that ranks as one of the ten or fifteen most detailed and observant accounts of life on the gold rush trail. Unlike most overland diarists, Perkins continued his entries after arrival in California, though only intermittently and briefly. His entries end on February 28, 1850, but the editor has expanded the description of California life with a valuable selection of letters that carry on the story of what happened to many of the diarist's travel companions through December of 1850. The bibliography emphasizes the fact that Professor Clark limited his research to the manuscript diaries in the Henry E. Huntington Library and used an equally limited number of published sources. Nonetheless, his notes provide an informative enlargement of the diary itself, and his introduction offers a thoughtful analysis of Perkins' gold rush experience.

Another publisher who has strengthened the century-old tradition of gold rush literature is the Talisman Press. Recent additions to this company's impressive list of gold rush books include a hefty, nourishing volume entitled *The Diaries of Peter Decker,* edited by Helen S. Giffen (1966), and a book long needed but apparently too demanding for most editors and publishers: *The California Gold Discovery,* by Rodman W. Paul. The Decker diaries have the distinction of being as descriptive and almost as regular *after* arrival in California as during the overland trip. For almost two years, Decker reported with remarkable detail the circumstances of life in the northern mines. His story reveals why so few goldseekers stuck with mining for more than a brief time: sickness, foul food, loneliness, the high cost of even the most miserable living, and mining claims that produced more disappointment than gold. The editor's notes concentrate on identifying place names and almost every person mentioned by Decker. Unfortunately, there is no bibliography, reflective of a limited use of contemporary accounts.

Rodman Paul has followed up his

(Continued on page 29)

THE TRAIL OF THE CONCORD COACH

By Oscar Winther

Stagecoach West by Ralph Moody (*Thomas Y. Crowell, $6.95*).

It would appear that the literature of stagecoaching will end up justifying the adage that each generation writes history anew. The year 1901 saw the publication of *The Overland Stage to California,* by Frank Root and William E. Connelly, and a generation later, Captain William Banning and George Hugh Banning's *Six Horses* (1928) appeared. The generational gap has continued with the publication of Margaret Conkling's *The Butterfield Overland Mail* in 1947, and now *Stagecoach West,* by Ralph Moody. ("In-between" publications have included J. V. Frederick's *Ben Holladay* and the picture-book produced by Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg: *U. S. West, the Saga of Wells Fargo.*) Each of these titles has had its distinctive character, and the distinguishing virtue of Moody's book is synthesis.

Moody makes no pretense (although his publishers do) of having made extensive use of original sources, save newspapers; but it is clearly evident that he has done a very thorough job of saturating himself with the published literature on the subject, producing a well-balanced account, even if it is not what the publisher's blurb maintains: "The story of the frontier express lines that linked the nation together." To be sure, the express business was not unrelated to the passenger-carrying business (when a road agent ordered a jehu to "throw down that box," the reference was to "express" box), but they were by no means synonymous. And even though Moody begins his book with the Stone Age (Neanderthal Man traveled shank's mare, no doubt), hurries his reader through the Roman Empire, into Britain, across the Atlantic to colonial America, and into the Old Northwest, his book is most solidly based in the trans-Mississippi West.

Moreover, the pitch is toward business or organization history. The book contains a considerable amount of information on individual entrepreneurs, business partnerships, and corporations, together with the contractual relationships most of these stagecoaching operators had with the United States Post Office. The index contains more than fifty page-references to government mail contracts (an equal number to congressional considerations and to overland mail service), but only five references to travel; robbers and robberies are, happily, limited to fifteen.

With this emphasis there can be no quarrel (emphasis is an author's prerogative), and it is this reviewer's opinion that Moody has presented his material in judicious and very readable fashion. Fortunately, he has not allowed himself to be

(Continued on page 29)

COMMENTARY

By Wallace Stegner

For Their Own Sake, and Ours

A half dozen years ago the Sierra Club published *This Is the American Earth*, with photographs by Ansel Adams and text by Nancy Newhall. Not only was it a superbly beautiful book in itself, it was the first of a superb series, which now, with the publication of Dave Bohn's *Glacier Bay* and Robert Wenkham's *Kauai*, has reached a total of sixteen titles. The series won the Carey-Thomas Award for Creative Publishing in 1964; it will win other awards before it is finished, and *Glacier Bay* and *Kauai* will help it do so.

These are books that people see with exclamations and turn through with something like awe. They are not cheap, and they are worth every dime of their $25 price. Having served on the Sierra Club's publications committee, I know something of the daring and excitement that went into these publications, and something of the policy problems they presented. After all, the Sierra Club is not a publishing house. Nevertheless, there are few who would deny that under the imaginative editorship of David Brower, the series has achieved a double success. Weapons in the conservation wars, they have the integrity and effectiveness of weapons while still managing a quintessential truthfulness to the natural beauty whose preservation is their reason for being.

In some ways, no two books could be more unlike than the latest. One reports the bleak beauty of country just emerging from the ice, barely colonized by chilly life forms—lichens and mosses and horsetail, painfully following the retreating glaciers and leaving in their wake the possibility of alder and willow and, ultimately, spruce. The other reports an island lush beyond description, troubled not by the birth-throes of life but by too much life, too many exotics, too much human exploitation and carelessness.

Both are rich with gorgeous (and gorgeously reproduced) photographs, but while the Kauai pictures are mainly in opulent color, those of Glacier Bay are either stark black and white, or were shot in such dim, uncertain, creation-dawn light that rock and ice are touched with the faintest blush of warmth. Happily, I have been both in Glacier Bay and on Kauai; I have never seen either so accurately and poetically pictured. And reading the two books simultaneously is the best way I know to get an idea of the range and complexity of the American land and the range and complexity of the problem of conserving it.

The texts of both are packed with essential information — historical, legendary, geological, biological—but Wenkham's story of Kauai is a story of the consequences that follow when white men descend upon Paradise, Bohn's is primarily a story of exploration, pioneer hardship, and the succession of primitive life-forms. Because of its remoteness, bleakness, fog, cold rain, and general inhospitableness, Glacier Bay has been spared all but the most minimal human intrusion thus far. But Kauai's is the all-too-familiar story of an invading technological civilization bent upon profits, which threatens to destroy not only the primitive culture it finds, but the land itself. It is all here: the clearing of land for sugar and pineapples, and the consequent erosion; the logging of the mountains to bring the smell of sandalwood to Chinese palaces; the plans, projected and sometimes completed, for waterworks and dams that disrupt a fragile ecology; the well-meant and ill-considered importation of exotics, both plant and animal, that proceed to run wild and supplant what they were meant to supplement. The history of the twentieth century in Hawaii is a history of extermination campaigns against such exotics—cattle, goats, pigs, blackberries, lantana, lemon guava, what not—and against the damage they have done to the native flora and fauna. Here too are the military—single-minded, powerful, often ruthless—planting their radar installations in state parks and across some of the most spectacular views in the world. Here are the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation putting their mischievous fingers into an already troubled situation. And here is the conservation movement, belatedly militant, doing its best to have the Kokee-Waimea-Na Pali region of Kauai brought under real protection as a national park. That we have heard it before in other contexts does not make it any less lamentable, or the effort at park protection less worth our support.

As these two books make clear, the problems of these two magnificent, totally different natural areas are different but related. Already a national monument, Glacier Bay should be given even firmer protection by being upgraded to a national park: it would be one of the greatest in a magnificent system. There is small doubt that it will make it, and no one who knows it wants it "developed" more than the barest minimum. It should exist, says Dave Bohn, "solely for its own sake. No justification, rationale, or excuse is needed. *For its own sake*, and no other reason."

Kauai, as magnificent in its own way as Glacier Bay, but much more hospitable to visitors, is now partly in two state parks, but is still subject to invasions of many kinds, and is far more fragile. This area too should and must be a national park, and there is more to be lost by delay—there have already been losses that may be irreparable, and invaders who cannot be ousted without the greatest effort.

One is as little inclined to cite reasons and rationales for the preservation of a Kauai National Park as Dave Bohn is to cite them for Glacier Bay's cold wilderness thundering with calving glaciers. For its own sake it should be protected from us all. When it has been, we will perhaps recognize that what we did was for our sake as well. And we had better thank the Sierra Club as least as much as any other agency or individual. I wonder if the American people have the slightest idea how much they already owe to this organization and others like it, and how much more they will owe in years to come?

Glacier Bay by Dave Bohn; **Kauai** by Robert Wenkham (*Sierra Club, Exhibit Format Series, $25 each*).

THE FRONTIER HERITAGE: PROVOCATIVE OR PROVOKING?

BEING VIEWS BY
W. H. HUTCHINSON AND OWEN ULPH

AMBIGUOUS LEGATEES

W. H. Hutchinson

John P. Diggins appraised *America's Frontier Heritage* and found it to be an ambiguous legacy. It is my intention here to dip a different litmus into the frontier test tube. That it is an agrarian-oriented litmus, hence profane and possibly even low-brow, is admitted with the cheery frontier adjuration, "You be damned!"

Our frontier heritage was distilled in a centuries-long struggle to fill and to utilize open space and all that it held. My litmus tells me that the availability of open space permitted a religion-based ethic and a Lockean liberalism to add their impetus to the westward thrust that transformed a congeries of colonies into a nation-state. This sustained thrust produced our "fevered American Dream," which encompasses far more than feverish movement for movement's sake. Down all the years of this dream's conception, birth, and nourishment, it has imposed upon us the task of Sisyphus. In these days of our narcissistic malaise, the frontier heritage makes this task more tolerable, but no less demanding.

Manpower was scarce on the cutting edge of the frontier (even behind it) for most of our frontier experience, and the worth of the individual was therefore enhanced beyond anything previous in man's experience. Manpower is hardly scarce today, but does our current abundance of labor, our plethora of raw humanity, automatically denigrate the frontier's heritage of individual worth, or does it make it ever more important?

A decent amount of self-respect plus a decent regard for the self-respect of others was a vital part of frontier individualism, and remains the best part of our inheritance from that segment. In "a culture of manipulated mass media," it is equally worthwhile to retain some of the frontier's healthy skepticism induced by grating individual encounters with wooden nutmeg peddlers, and by breach of promise regarding prepaid freight rates on farm equipment west of Chicago. Finally, the frontier habit of

(Continued on page 30)

Editor's Note: ***America's Frontier Heritage,*** **by Ray Allan Billington, is one of those too-infrequent works in the field of western history genuinely entitled to that overworked characterization, "provocative."**

In the last issue of this journal (June 15, 1967) John P. Diggins reviewed Billington's book in an essay titled "The Frontier Heritage: Ambiguous Legacy." He concluded:

> More than any other historian, Billington has brilliantly evaluated the frontier heritage in all its complexity. Yet this reviewer puts the book down with a sense of uneasiness. For the disturbing thing about the frontier is that it has left Americans so unprepared for the problems of the modern world. The virtues of hard work, for example, can hardly be sustained in a society of automated leisure; material values may very well be mocked in an age of increasing affluence; optimism and belief in free will ring hollow in a culture of manipulated mass media . . . and in a nuclear diplomacy of devoluted political and military power; anti-intellectualism and distrust of elites are not the traits conducive to a specialized society requiring a responsible "establishment"; the rejection of individual and class distinctions may not be the answer for a people who, we are told, are suffering from an "identity crisis." In this respect, the frontier heritage must be looked upon as an ambiguous legacy at best.

W. H. Hutchinson vigorously rejects this analysis, and suggests that such traits as "the frontier's healthy skepticism" are sorely needed today. Alternatively, Owen Ulph discovers in the same earthy skepticism grounds for questioning the value of Billington's entire approach to the interpretation of the frontier.

—R.O.

America's Frontier Heritage by Ray Allen Billington (*Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $5.95*).

THE NEMESIS OF SCIENTISM

Owen Ulph

"Anti-intellectualism," writes Ray Allen Billington, "was not solely the product of the frontier, of course. Yet it remains one of the lasting, and least attractive relics of the frontier heritage." After ploughing their way through what the dust-jacket of *America's Frontier Heritage* describes as a "fascinating synthesis of psychology, sociology, economics, and literature," skeptical readers, of which this reviewer is Exhibit A, may seriously doubt that "scorning eggheads" is an unattractive trait.

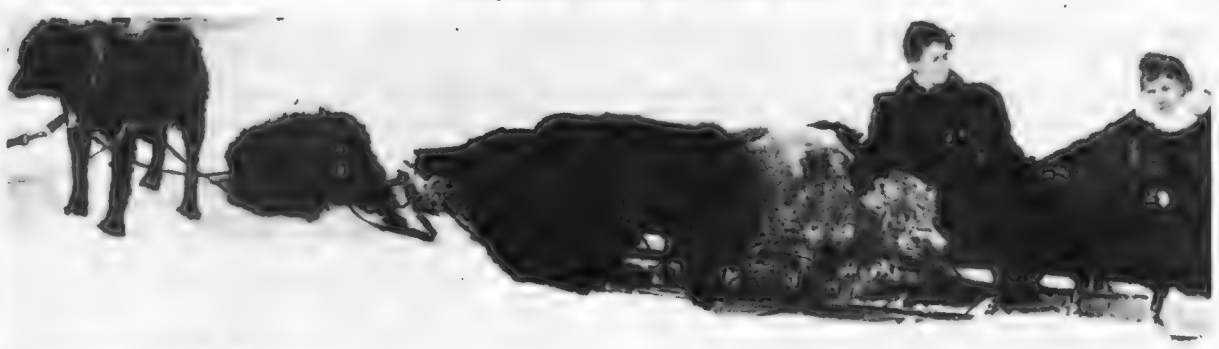
Pseudo-scientific pedantry is the curse of contemporary scholarship. It is an insult to the informed and a soporific to the uninformed. Worst of all, it constitutes a crime against culture when it corrupts the writing of an able historian such as Billington whose work would have been a fairly digestible piece of expository prose were it not encumbered with the humbug "behavioral scientists" have been inflicting upon a gullible public that has lost touch with the refreshing folk-wisdom of a less sophisticated society.

America's Frontier Heritage is a sort of miscellany of all the interpretations, generalizations, modifications of interpretations, and limitations of generalizations that have been advanced to account for the American character, the lack of American character, democracy, snobbery, individualism, collectivism, materialism, idealism, extravagance, frugality, energy, laziness, togetherness, untogetherness, mulishness, cunning, naiveté, godliness, and sin. D. W. Brogan did the job once before without recourse to the frontier hypothesis. In the hands of Billington, despite his protests to the contrary, the renovated, remodeled, and amplified Turner frontier hypothesis is elaborated into a Gargantuan tautology.

Actually, the opening chapter, in which Billington summarizes the major tenets of Turner's work and rescues it from the clutches of the innumerable hacks who have tortured and vulgarized

(Continued on page 30)

Forty winks beside the Yukon trail.



"Sourdough Picnic" at Nome.

The "sourdough setup" in Hegg's Seattle studio.

Klondike claimants.

More of the "Sourdough Picnic."

dio.

A KLONDIKE GALLERY

Periodic exposure to the fever of gold had brought a certain sophistication to the residents of the Far West by the end of the nineteenth century; while many still found themselves susceptible to the contagion of gold-seeking per se, a significant number tended to look upon any given gold rush more realistically, viewing it as a superb opportunity for the enrichment of entrepreneurs dealing in everything from canned goods to bartered flesh.

As a result of this fiscal evolution, the Alaskan strikes of the summer of 1897 touched off a speculator's rush that was more than a match for the frenzy of the traditional miner's rush. The Yukon and its tributaries were invaded almost from the start by a thundering herd of merchants, gamblers, strong-jawed harlots, and a grab bag of others whose purposes were often legitimate.

This list must include photographers, for by 1897 it was generally conceded that a bona fide gold rush was an event of historic proportions—and who would not lay down a sizeable piece of cash for a picture that would authenticate his participation in a historic event? Speculation along these lines may well have been in the mind of Puget Sound photographer E. A. Hegg when he packed up his equipment in the late summer of the year and caught a steamer for points north. In any event, Hegg saw and recorded it all, as reported by Murray Morgan in his excellent text for **One Man's Gold Rush** (*University of Washington Press, $10.95*): "He forced a sled load of photographic equipment across the coastal mountains in the dead of winter. He shot the rapids of the Yukon on the spring thaw. He hiked out to the claims of Bonanza and Eldorado, and he poked his camera into the banks and bars and bordellos in Dawson. He rode a paddlewheel steamer down the Yukon to the Bering and was on the dark sands of Nome when the prospectors swirled gravel in their pans and worked their mechanical rockers. He stayed in the North to photograph the industrialization of the gold mining as huge dredges were brought in to sluice out pay dirt from the treeless hills."

Among the 160 photographs strikingly reproduced in *One Man's Gold Rush,* scores are of abiding historical worth and of a quality that ranges from workmanlike landscape scenes to moments of startling drama; we present on these pages a representative sampling that comprises a gallery of Klondike types—a few of Hegg's many portraits and group scenes that illuminate in exuberant fashion the various life-styles of a great adventure.

New Year's Eve at Dawson.

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A WESTERN GATHERING

Full bibliographic information (number of pages, where published, etc.) for all books reviewed can be obtained from the listing under Current Western Books, page 3.

Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe by Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir (*University of Oklahoma Press, $8.95*).

BY JOHN FRANCIS BANNON

This is an interesting, a scholarly, a valuable, and yet in many respects a curious and aggravating book. It advertises itself as the story of Pedro Vial, frontiersman extraordinary of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, yet the hero does not make anything more than a token appearance until page 262. Even then, Vial has to share the remaining ten chapters with José Mares, Francisco Amangual, and other "cohorts." Four of these last ten chapters are filled with Vial's several diaries, not always complete, and often confusingly broken by variant readings from several versions.

The study was prepared in a somewhat unusual sort of collaboration. Loomis, the novelist, takes the responsibility for being the author of the story; Nasatir, the historian, furnished the materials from his vast store of archival copies and served as technical adviser. One has the impression that the litterateur was so overwhelmed by the wealth of archival treasure put at his disposal that he could not resist the temptation to use it all. Often, then, the excellently done backdrops become more important than the actors.

Had the title been shortened to "Roads to Santa Fe," the book would be more properly described, for the focal point *is* the New Mexican capital, Santa Fe—affront to the Indians, dream of the French, and mercantile prize of the Anglo-Americans. Through its first ten chapters, the book is very much the story of the trans-Mississippi West into the first quarter of the nineteenth century. There are the Indians of New Mexico, Texas, and the Plains; the French threat coming from both Louisiana and the Illinois country; the British neighbors after 1763; then the Kentuckians; and finally, the Anglo masters of the Missouri Valley. Each of the chapters is something of a self-contained story, superbly documented, sometimes from sources already familiar but equally often with new materials mined from the Spanish and French archives by the indefatigable Nasatir. An extremely serviceable aspect of these chapters is the wealth of footnotes of a biographical character, in a few lines giving the vital data on each major figure and forming a potential dictionary of trans-Mississippi biography.

While Pedro Vial, a Frenchman with a Spanish name, appears rather belatedly, his story is a fascinating one, and is here told for the first time in any considerable detail, with his own words to back it up. He was a remarkable person, who moved through the Indian country with ease, generally with the friendly cooperation of the original landlords. He traced several trails for the first time—from San Antonio to Santa Fe; from Santa Fe to Natchitoches, with a return via San Antonio; then from Santa Fe to St. Louis and back, making him the real trailbreaker of a path that two decades after his passage was to be worn deep by American wagons.

The book has seven maps, all but two contemporary. The bibliography is extensive, with a valuable listing of articles from varied historical periodicals.

John Francis Bannon, S. J., of St. Louis University, is a past president of the Western History Association.

No More than Five in a Bed by Sandra Dallas (*University of Oklahoma Press, $5.95*).

BY MARSHALL SPRAGUE

An old hotel is far more interesting than a new hotel—a pleasant truth that is fetchingly developed by Sandra Dallas in this current contribution to the growing body of hostelry lore. *No More than Five in a Bed* presents sketches of thirty-seven of Colorado's old hotels, many of which had General Grant as a guest, and some of which won additional fame for murders committed on the premises. Then there was always the celebrity to be gained through hanky-panky with the maids in the attic, the startling phenomena of three-story privies, or colorful extinction by conflagration. One Colorado inn—the Antero at Mount Princeton Hot Springs—was noted for the forty

years it took to build. Another lively house (the alleged rules of which provided the title of this book) restricted horses to the first floor and forbade shooting the piano player.

The Victorian group includes all the old beloveds. It is astonishing how many of them are still around. The Imperial at Cripple Creek enjoys affluence far beyond its status in 1900. So do Central City's Teller House; Ouray's charming Beaumont; and the good old Strater in Durango, rattling gently at nine and five when the narrow-gauge passes by. The Windsor has gone from Denver, of course, and so have the La Veta from Gunnison and the Antlers from Colorado Springs; but the Brown Palace lives on as queen of the Rocky Mountain inns, the Boulderado survives at Boulder, the Jerome at Aspen, the Vendome at Leadville, and the Grand Imperial at Silverton.

The book concludes with such resort hotels as the Colorado at Glenwood, the Stanley at Estes, and the Broadmoor at Colorado Springs—fascinating examples all of what can happen when rich men with time on their hands get the hotel bug.

All in all, Miss Dallas covers her subject extensively and amusingly, although it must be said that she fails to deal effectively with such matters of historical interest as the origins and development of western hotel architecture or the relationships between these hostelries and the era in general.

Marshall Sprague is a Colorado resident of long standing and the author of the recent A Gallery of Dudes.

The Enlarged Devil's Dictionary by Ambrose Bierce. Compiled and edited by Ernest J. Hopkins (*Doubleday, $5.95*). **Ambrose Bierce: a Biography** by Richard O'Connor (*Little, Brown, $6.95*).

BY JOHN E. MCCHESNEY

Connoisseurs of tough aphoristic wit and students of American satire owe thanks to Professor Hopkins for his enlarged version of Ambrose Bierce's *The Devil's Dictionary*. Students of western history, too, will appreciate Hopkins' work because Bierce was a distinctively western journalist. Bierce wrote for several small San Francisco magazines, as well as Hearst's *San Francisco Examiner*, and his demonic definitions appeared sporadically from 1875 to 1906 in his "Town Crier" column for the San Francisco *News Letter*, in *The Wasp*, and in the *Examiner*. In 1906 Bierce published a five-hundred-item reprint entitled *The Cynic's Wordbook*, and in 1911 five hundred more definitions were added in *The Devil's Dictionary*, which came out with *The Collected Works of Ambrose Bierce*. But Bierce had still overlooked, for reasons explained in Hopkins' introduction, almost six hundred of his gems of satanic lexicography. Hopkins' assiduous research has recovered these omitted definitions.

Bierce doubtless would have relished being described as a sort of Samuel Johnson of the West, and it is perhaps appropriate that he turned to the art of lexicography. He scorned conventional dictionaries, however:

> **Dictionary**, *n.* A malevolent literary device for cramping the growth of language and making it hard and inelastic. The present dictionary, however, is one of the most useful works that its author, Dr. John Satan, has ever produced. It is designed to be a compendium of everything that is known up to the date of its completion, and will drive a screw, repair a red wagon or apply for a divorce. It is a good substitute for the measles, and will make rats come out of their holes to die. It is a dead shot for worms, and children cry for it.

Bierce wrote a highly polished, latinate literary prose spiced with pungent western phrasing, and with this style he took apart the vocabulary of the Gilded Age. He reversed the meanings of words or assigned to them a seemingly outlandish definition in order to unmask the reality behind their hypocritical usage:

> **Inhumanity**, *n.* One of the signal and characteristic qualities of humanity.
>
> **Respectability**, *n.* The offspring of a *liaison* between a bald head and a bank account.

Much of Bierce's journalistic satire took the form of personal invective in a time when there were no rules of fair play in the brawling journalism of San Francisco. He defined satire as "an obsolete kind of literary composition in which the vices and follies of the author's enemies are expounded with imperfect tenderness." But in *The Devil's Dictionary* he went beyond the personal

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to a level of generalization wrought with a pithy, pessimistic wisdom that establishes the book's continuing relevance. Cynical he was, if we accept his definition of a cynic as "a man who sees things as they are and not as they ought to be." *All* satire has an implied norm against which its objects of attack are measured; and even though Bierce was fond of saying that values were mere expedients, he believed intensely in the values of frank acknowledgment of unpleasant truths. This often gave his pronouncements the appearance of moral judgments:

> **Bomb**, *n.* A besieger's argument in favor of capitulation, skillfully adapted to the understanding of women and children.

Bierce was conscious that satire had not yet found fertile soil in America. "In this country satire never had more than a sickly and uncertain existence, for the soul of it is wit, wherein we are dolefully deficient, the humor that we mistake for it, like all humor, being tolerant and sympathetic." It is not without significance that the two greatest satirists of the post-Civil War nineteenth century, Twain and Bierce, were schooled in the bare-knuckles journalism of the West. Satire is a weapon, be it bludgeon, sword, or horse pistol, and the loaded pistol that Bierce always carried, literally and figuratively, hardly fit in with the "tolerant and sympathetic" tradition of genteel humor. Certainly the West made a contribution to American satire, since Bierce greatly influenced H. L. Mencken and even—indirectly—Sinclair Lewis.

Richard O'Connor's biography of Bierce provides a lively picture of the turbulence of Bierce's San Francisco—turbulence that found violent expression in the streets and in the press. O'Connor provides a profusion of quotations to illustrate the uninhibited manner in which Bierce and his fellow San Francisco journalists stabbed at one another with vitriolic pens.

The book is chronologically organized and follows Bierce through his formative Civil War experience, his long trek west, his San Francisco days, his gold mining adventure in the Dakota Territory, his trip to Washington as a Hearst warrior against Colis P. Huntington, and finally to his disappearance in Mexico.

Bierce, as a matter of fact, held biographers in rather low esteem:

> **Biography**, *n.* The literary tribute that a little man pays to a big one.

But O'Connor's intentions were not so pretentious: his biography is intended more as entertainment rather than as in-depth analysis of the relationship between Bierce's life and his serious literary productions. The result is a generally lively narrative of events and anecdotes. Furthermore, O'Connor is to be complimented for not getting bogged down in yet another theory about Bierce's fate in Mexico.

St. Croix Trail Country by William Gray Purcell (*University of Minnesota Press, $6.50*).

BY WALKER D. WYMAN

Before his death in 1965, at the age of 84, William Gray Purcell set down a recollection of the wonderful boyhood summers he had passed in northern Wisconsin between 1887 and 1901. Now published as *St. Croix Trail Country*, this memoir is a delightful montage that defies easy pigeonholing: it is both documentary and reminiscence, and in addition makes a modest contribution to the literature of the northern frontier.

Purcell's grandfather, Dr. William Gray, was a publisher who lived in Oak Park, Illinois. Why the Gray family chose to establish a summer residence in a near-wilderness, remote from transportation and settlements, is not clear, but it is apparent that a yearning for real solitude, for a part-time life close to nature, was strong even before the Bureau of the Census announced that the frontier was no more.

The Gray family built cabins on their island in Island Lake (near Ashland on Lake Superior) with the help of Chippewa Indian neighbors and a few lumberjacks. The St. Croix Trail, an uncertain pathway through the woods between St. Paul and Lake Superior, figures in this account only as the route between the Grays' summer island and the railhead.

Assisted by that vigorous memory of childhood activities that frequently appears in old age, Purcell obviously produced this account as a labor of love, as an appreciation of a happy boyhood that preceded a distinguished career as an architect. In the gathering of memories, he was helped by the weekly column ("Campfire Musings") that his grand-

father had written for his Chicago weekly newspaper, and by photographs of summer camp life, thirty-two of which appear in *St. Croix Trail Country*. Snatches from "Campfire Musings" are quoted liberally; there are campfire stories told by the adults to the children at night; there is all the variety of personal experience that one would expect in the summer adventures of a boy passing from the age of seven to twenty-one.

This is a homespun story of family life, from blueberry pie to the poetry of life in the North Country summers. There is little of the harshness of pioneering—yet in a sense the Grays *were* pioneers. They were pioneers among the affluent urbanites of their own time, pathfinders to those who after them have sought the same kind of retreat to nature.

Professor Walker D. Wyman is President of Wisconsin State University and was named this year "Centennial Year Distinguished Professor of History" at the River Falls campus of the University.

Theodore Roosevelt: The Man As I Knew Him by Nicholas Roosevelt (*Dodd, Mead, $5.95*).

In his own time, Theodore Roosevelt was viewed as a dangerous radical by the Old Guard in the GOP, as a battler for the Lord by many progressives, and as front-page copy by all newsmen. He took himself seriously, and was taken seriously by others. For a long time, however, his biographers did not follow suite. Not until the 1950's, when another Republican President lent comparative appeal to TR's vigor and reforming spirit, did he begin to receive serious consideration and even praise from notable historians—Howard K. Beale, John Morton Blum, George Mowry, and William H. Harbaugh are names that come to mind.

Nicholas Roosevelt's recollection of his father's first cousin is an exaggeration of this trend, as it borders on hero worship. But it is interesting and revealing nonetheless. Western historians may want to recall TR's note to Frederick Jackson Turner (after his famous address to the American Historical Association): "I think you have struck some first class ideas, and have put into defi-

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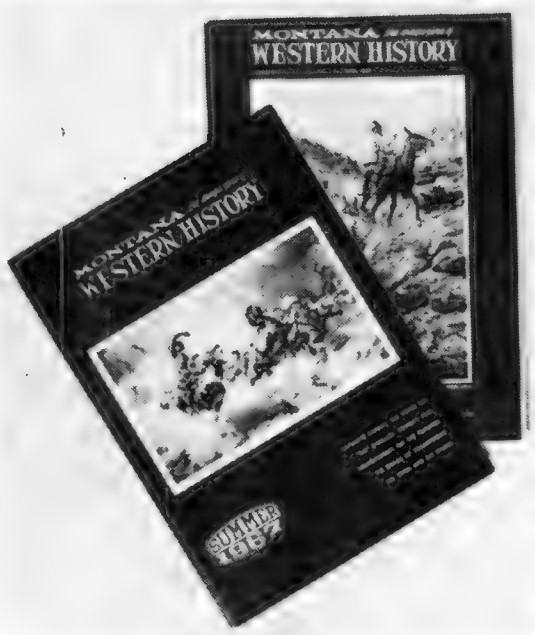

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nite shape a good deal of the thought which has been floating around rather loosely." Indeed, TR's claim that "when I make up my mind to do a thing, I act," may suggest that life in the Bad Lands had more effect on him than Harvard.

Tough Trip Through Paradise, 1878-1879 by Andrew Garcia. Edited by Bennett H. Stein (*Houghton-Mifflin, $6.95*).

The value of historical reminiscence is largely a literary one. It matters less that a man possess total—or even uniformly accurate—recall than that he exercise the ability to reproduce the *right* details, those elusive, faded, often garbled moments from his experience that nonetheless make real the bits and pieces of his past. Thus, even the semi-fictional autobiography of a Mark Twain, with all its distortions and exaggerations, can faithfully suggest the feel and flavor of a time and illuminate his relationship to it.

All of which has more to do with the book above than might be expected. Andrew Garcia, Montana trapper and trader of the nineteenth century, was thoroughly untrained in the refinements of writing and all too susceptible to the purplish excesses rampant in the strong-man-with-heart-of-solid-marshmallow literary genre common to the age in which he wrote; yet Garcia possessed such a sharp and perceptive eye for the essential moments of his past that *Tough Trip Through Paradise* is raised from the level of an old-timer's recollections to that of something approaching genuine literature—and is precisely that much more valuable to an understanding of the West-that-was.

Tough Trip Through Paradise recounts Garcia's wanderings across the wild and compelling mountain country of Montana and Wyoming Territories in 1878 and 1879, when he was little more than a green, hot-eyed boy yearning for some intangible called adventure and loping off after accessible Indian girls in a paroxysm of what mountain men of experience chose to call "squaw fever." Ultimately, Garcia found more adventure than he had bargained upon, and enough sex to jade its attractions until he met the captivating In-who-lise, a Nez Percé girl of warmth, wit, and beauty. "It has been more than half a century since I laid my beloved Susie,

my In-who-lise, to rest among the blizzard-swept crags of the wild Marias Mountains," Garcia recalled in the writing of these reminiscences. Even then, the memory of her remained strong, having survived twentieth-century civilization and a long marriage to a white woman. 1878 and 1879, and all that went with them, were the wildest and best years of Garcia's frontier experience, and the essence of that wild freedom is translated here without significant loss—due in large measure to the painstaking editing of Bennett H. Stein, who discovered the manuscript of the book in 1948 and rescued it from totally undeserved oblivion.

The Natural World of San Francisco by Harold Gilliam and Michael Bry (*Doubleday, $6.95*).

Although San Francisco is the third most densely populated city in the United States, the sea, the hills, the parks, and the dearth of heavy industry combine to make nature's gifts readily available to its residents. Harold Gilliam, whose weekly column in the *Chronicle* pricks the conscience of conservationists throughout the Bay Area, argues: "man-made San Francisco is an ugly city. . . . It is nature that gives the city its distinction." The poetic pictures of Michael Bry, added to Gilliam's interesting and informative text, leave no doubt as to the uniqueness and beauty of the city's setting. Yet as the Bay is filled and fouled with refuse, the hills scaled by box houses, the parks threatened by freeways whose autos exude the pollution usually provided by industry, we may wonder whether *The Natural World of San Francisco* will not soon be merely a testament to past glory.

Run Toward the Nightland: Magic of the Oklahoma Cherokees by Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick (*Southern Methodist University Press, $5.00*).

Those who customarily look askance at the literary efforts of the West (such as they have been) might be startled to learn that there exists a body of native Indian poetry whose style and strength often rivals that of such classics as *Beowulf* and is sometimes a good match for the ancient lyrics of the Orient.

Before his untimely death in February of this year, Jack Frederick Kilpatrick devoted much of his varied career to collecting and translating Cherokee lyrics, and with his wife published many of them—in *Walk in My Soul* (1965) and now *Run Toward the Nightland*, a collection of litanies to ensure everything from safe passage on a wilderness trail to successful marriage. Among the ritual poems included in this rich and perceptive little book is one whose simplicity puts the affectation of most love poetry to shame: "Look at me very beautifully./ Let us talk very beautifully./ There is no loneliness—/ So let us talk!"

With Brass and Gas by Munson Baldwin (*Beacon Press, $6.00*).

A fascinating little book about the early history of balloon flight in the United States, providing a peek into a specifically delimited part of the innocent childhood of America. The story is told entirely through contemporary newspaper accounts, letters, diary fragments, letters to the editor, and advertisements; these are the sum total of the book. Set in a typeface emulating the style of the time, with period illustrations, the message is excitement of a new pastime and—as some thought—a new means of transportation. There is even a story of sorts, for the selections follow the adventures of a few of the more ardent of the new sportsmen, detailing their successes, their misadventures, their public and private disputes about the methods and significance of balloon flight.

Thus it makes for delightful reading, a carefully circumscribed and suitably cockeyed record of Yankees and midwesterners responding to something new in the world—the stretching in *all* directions of a brash, enterprising, sensationalist people with highly developed curiosities.

Full bibliographic information (number of pages, where published, etc.) for all books reviewed can be obtained from the listing under Current Western Books, page 3.

THE VIOLENT LAND

(Continued from page 11)

the facts are here, and they do show that Hidalgo fell into the old Mexican trap of confusing myth and reality. He was quite realistic about the necessity of separating Mexico from Spain, for the *gachupines* (Spaniards from Spain) did not have any more right to a privileged status over the *criollos* (persons born in Mexico) than the English had over the colonists. But Hidalgo believed as well that his undisciplined followers could be controlled, that he was leading a kind of religious crusade. However, as Hamill reports, the unfettered "destructiveness of the horde became apparent on the first day of the rebellion. . ." when the rebels sacked stores in Dolores. Hidalgo's commanding officer, Allende, pleaded with him to allow him to shape the army into one that could be respected by other *criollos*, but Allende's arguments were in vain. Hidalgo was trapped in a myth of his own creation. He even believed that as the revolt progressed, Indians and

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slaves would join the ranks and fight for freedom. Such a belief dies very hard. Though he saw the massacre of fellow *criollos*, as well as *gachupines*, at the granary in Guanajuto, he could not accept the fact that his crusaders had become nothing more than a mob.

On March 21, 1811, incontrovertible reality finally caught up to Hidalgo in the harsh desert country of Coahuila. He and the other rebel leaders were captured, chained, and forced to march across the deadly Bólson to de Mapimí to Chihuahua. Prison and a trial with only one possible verdict became their destiny. Because he had been a priest, Hidalgo's executioners gave him a choice. He could be shot in the chest or in the back. Hidalgo wrote a verse of thanks to his kind jailer and faced the firing squad.

The end of Hidalgo's dream was a brutally violent reality. His head and those of his officers—Allende, Aldama, and Jiménez—were packed in salt and sent to Guanajuato. Here, as the Listers put it, "The heads of the four insurgents were hung on spikes at each of the four corners of *alhóndiga*. . . ." In spite of this, the myth Hidalgo had believed was not dead. Ten years after his death, Mexico became a free nation. Two years later, the remains of the first rebels were brought to Mexico City and put ". . . in urns richly adorned with crystals and overlays of gold and silver with each name intricately inscribed. . . ."

The same combination of myth, reality, and violence is a strong undercurrent to David Lavender's *Climax at Buena Vista*. In his short but exceedingly perceptive study of the most crucial battle of the Mexican War, Lavender shows how Santa Anna created his own myth, lived with it, and discovered the hard reality of his own inadequate leadership at Buena Vista on February 22, 1847. A major factor in this battle was the violent nature of the land, a factor Santa Anna simply ignored. From his position just north of San Luis Potosí, Santa Anna marched his ragged and underfed army through two hundred miles of desert. Then without giving them any rest, he called upon them for an effort that avoided any realistic consideration of their condition.

Thirty-five more waterless miles lay ahead, much of which the marchers must cross during the icy winter night so that they could attack at dawn. Furthermore, they must do it on almost empty stomachs. Only three rations were issued them. One was eaten the morning of the twenty-first. The second, consisting of a bit of dried meat, two biscuits, and a small hard cake of brown sugar, was to be eaten during the rest halt that night. The third was an emergency ration, to be consumed as circumstances dictated. The hope was to supplement that last skimpy meal with food seized from the *norteamericanos*.

The outcome of Santa Anna's failure to face reality resulted in a devastating defeat for his large army by the much smaller one commanded by General Zachary Taylor.

Myth and the reality of northern Mexico's violent land are strong themes in these four books. They dominate to such an extent that it is only fair to consider the possible existence of such themes in northern Mexico today. Some myths do remain. Certainly the myth of Pancho Villa as a kind of Mexican Robin Hood has not died, even though the true story of the wild chase he led Black Jack Pershing through deserts and barrancas is far more interesting than any myth about his role as a great revolutionary hero. And some of the violent realities still exist: cattlemen in the state of Sonora who wear gunslinger holsters and claim they need their weapons for defense against rustlers; Indians in the Sierra Madre who yet speak no Spanish and maintain their old cultures; deserts and barrancas where no highways or other signs of this century can be found.

But Mexico's fast-growing economy is quickly changing many things. New reservoirs in the Sierra Madre Occidental are turning the states of Sonora and Sinaloa into booming farmland. In the state of Chihuahua fat cattle graze on ladino clover; the Río Conchos now irrigates grapes, cotton, and other crops; and in downtown Chihuahua high-rise buildings overlook the plaza, with bleak desert mountains as a background. Before many years pass, only the Indians living in unirrigated deserts or in barrancas without dams or lumber mills will remember the myths of the violent land.

Ferol Egan is the author of The El Dorado Trail, *forthcoming in McGraw-Hill's "American Trails" series.*

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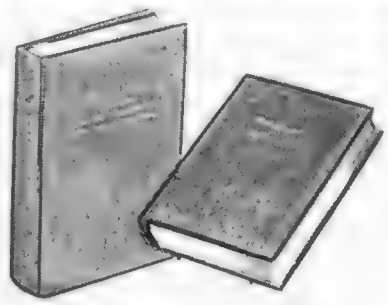

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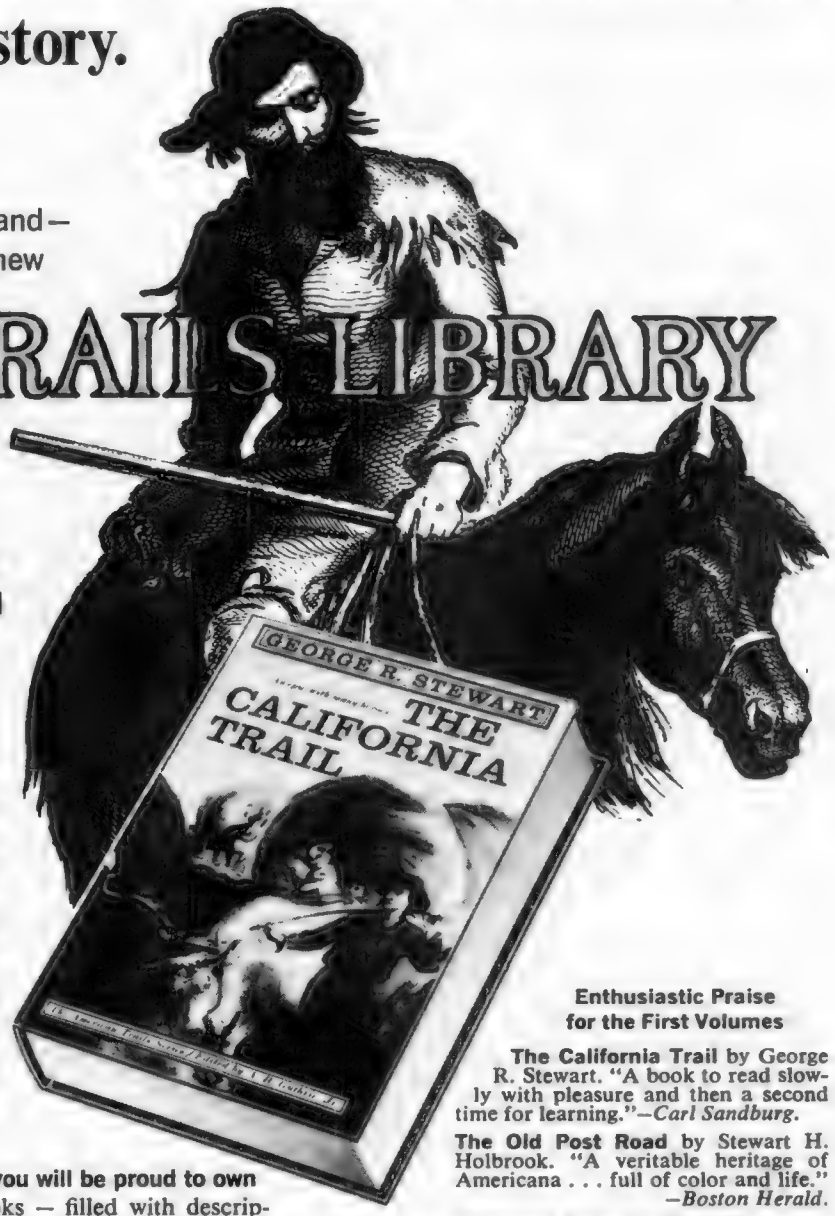

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REVIEWS

(*Continued from page 23*)

finds no compelling fascination in the brothers *per se*, is the author's dessication of the stream of materials which inundated the literary landscape after their careers were ended, a collection which says more than we probably want to know about the American character.

Father Kino in Arizona by Fay Jackson Smith, John L. Kessell, and Francis J. Fox, S.J. (*Arizona Historical Foundation, $7.50*).

The first completely annotated English translation of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino's "Relacion Diaria," an account of his missionary wanderings in the desert wilds of southern Arizona and northern Mexico in 1698 and 1699 (excerpts from which appeared in the Summer, 1966 issue of *The American West*), is here supported by a wealth of additional material, including an interpretation by John L. Kessell of Kino's travels and adventures in Arizona, and a comprehensive bibliography of works by and about Kino, assembled by Francis J. Fox, S.J.

Up and Down in California in 1860-1864: The Journal of of William H. Brewer, Professor of Agriculture in the Sheffield Scientific School from 1864 to 1903 edited by Francis P. Farquhar (*University of California Press, $10.00*).

This third reprinting of Brewer's classic rendering of the first four years of the California State Geological Survey will be welcomed by the scholar and the collector of Californiana alike — particularly since the editions of 1930 and 1949 have been long out of print. Farquhar's notes have been brought up to date, but —as in the second edition—the detailed, eminently useful, and often colorful Brewer letters have remained unaltered from their original appearance.

This Land Was Theirs by Wendell H. Oswalt (*John Wiley & Sons, $9.95*).

A valuable reference book in which the author selects ten representative Indian tribes for description, using archeological fragments, journals of explorers of the 1700's and 1880's, government reports, and studies by anthropologists, as well as his own observations. Each chapter is devoted to a particular tribe and follows a similar pattern, so that the reader may make comparisons on details of tribal life and the impact of the white man's technology and social institutions (as well as his diseases) on the various North American Indian groups. The burden of analysis, however, is almost entirely on the reader. Some readers might wish that the author had selected only half as many tribes and developed some educated guesses as to why particular tribes responded to the white man's culture as they did.

From West to East: Studies in the Literature of the American West by Robert Edson Lee (*University of Illinois Press, $5.00*).

The theme of this boggy study seems to be that such writers as Meriwether Lewis and Francis Parkman were hampered in their interpretations of the West by their eastern literary backgrounds, and that writers native to the West have failed to make up for it. The author beats several other dead horses before he is through — including whether or not Mark Twain was a westerner (Lee claims he was not; okay) — and while the book starts out rather slowly, it tends to taper off as it goes along.

A Room for the Night: Hotels of the Old West by Richard A. Van Orman (*Indiana University Press, $4.95*).

A Room for the Night packs a wealth of anecdotes, if not of analysis, into its too few pages. From the era of the road ranch and stage station and their primitive and sometimes agonizing accommodations to the plush elegance of the turn-of-the-century resort hotel and the stainless efficiency of the Harvey House, the author presents a fragmented but lively panorama of one of the more often ignored areas of western social history.

German Seed in Texas Soil. Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas by Terry G. Jordan *(University of Texas Press, $6.00).*

In the nineteenth century, when men observed rather than analyzed, Frederick Law Olmsted of *the New York Times* traveled through the slave states and was fascinated by the German settlements in Texas. Now Terry G. Jordan has documented one area of German distinctiveness, using tables, charts, maps, photographs, and, of course, the printed word. Comparing German to Anglo-American farming throughout, he concludes that

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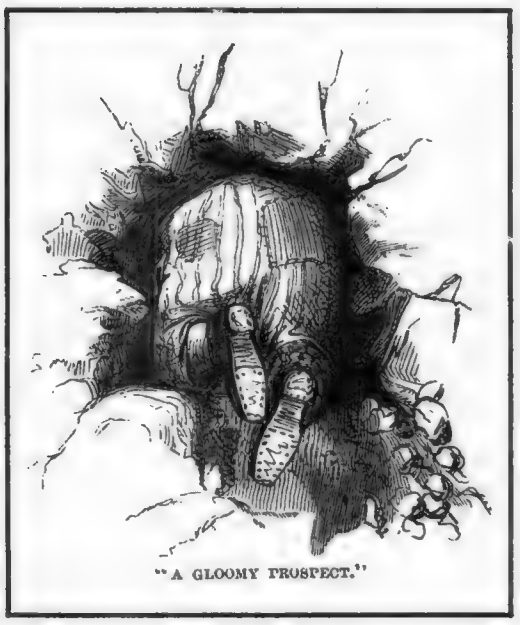
the former was "a blend of adapted and imported traits," a statement which would not have shocked Olmsted.

Sutter's Fort: Gateway to the Gold Fields by Oscar Lewis *(Prentice-Hall, $6.95).*

A lucid retelling of the California adventures of Captain John A. Sutter and of the fort he established near the confluence of the Sacramento and American rivers. Sutter, who displayed open-handed generosity and hardheaded despotism with equal facility, is surely one of early California's more paradoxical figures, his career crossing the state's formative years in a flash of confusion. *Sutter's Fort* is part of Prentice-Hall's excellent American Forts Series, under the direction of Stewart H. Holbrook.

Desert Plants and People by Sam Hicks (*The Naylor Company, $5.95*).

This curious little compendium is a collection of anecdotes, informal information, and recipes — all having to do with those plants and herbs utilized by the native people of the southwestern United States and northern Mexico as food and medicine. The author makes no claim for the medical reliability of the recipes he includes; his concern is for the people who use them, and in this sense, the book stands as a minor social document.



"A GLOOMY PROSPECT."

LETTERS AND NOTES

(*Continued from page 13*)

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SIR:

After turning out a magazine of such high quality and beauty, you people deserve a Happy Holiday, and I trust you will enjoy the kind of success such work warrants. For those of us in the East who would prefer a more open and beautiful country in which to work and contribute, *The American West* magazine is like a fresh prairie breeze each time it arrives in the mail. Appointing Wallace Stegner as Editor-in-Chief is a stroke of genius, and maintaining a strong emphasis on "conservation of the natural resources of the West" is a completely appropriate and welcome editorial approach. As a charter subscriber, I am preserving each copy of your exceptional publication as a permanent addition to my private library. Keep up this fine work, and be assured you are accomplishing one of the most worthwhile contributions to the history of American publishing. There can be no question of it.

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California State College
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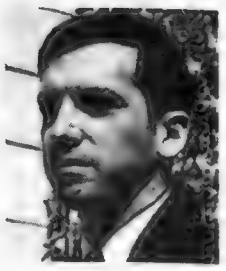

BY JOSEPH E. ILLICK

THE INDIAN IS A TROUBLING REMINDER that white America has been unable to solve its race problem, but memories of the cowboy evoke no such perplexing reflections. Indeed, the strong, silent man astride his trusty steed symbolizes not the complexity of life but its simplicity. As interpreted by movies, radio, and television, the major question in the Old West appears to have been one of time—how long would it take the good guys to corral the bad? The actual work involved in riding the range is interpreted as incidental to meting out clear and simple justice, undoubtedly the major reason for the appeal of the Western in our complex and impersonal world. Even when the cowboy is depicted in his proper environment—working on the prairie rather than fighting in the saloon or chasing villains toward the pass—the nostalgia remains. An NBC-TV documentary, "The Vanishing Cowboy" (April 24, 1967), thus closed: "Let us hope that the legend and the ideal for which the cowboy stands never fades."

But the literature of realism frequently follows hard on the heels of romance. In **Bankers and Cattlemen** *(Alfred A. Knopf, $6.95)*, Gene M. Gressley points out that the "earthier and harder side of life on the range . . . [is] all forgotten, buried in the mush of sentimentality." The plain purpose of Gressley's study, contrary to the publisher's flashy blurb, is "to trace the main configuration of eastern investment in the cattle industry." Focusing on the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the age of "cataclysmic upheaval" in the American economy, Gressley gives an illuminating account of the tensions between financiers in the East and promoters, stockmen, and cattle managers in the West. In between were the commission firms and railroads, alternately serving and exploiting their customers, who in turn attacked them politically. Throughout, the industrializing East poured a tremendous amount of capital into the underdeveloped West.

The initial investors were mature men, presumably aware of the perils of putting money in the West, since there were copious examples of lost investments. Gressley argues that personal relationships explain the initial interest and even the continued financing (much as Bernard Bailyn has explained mercantile activity in seventeenth-century New England); in addition, involvement in one area of the western economy often promoted investment in other areas. Included in the book are cogent analyses of the cycle and final decline of investment. Gressley concludes that most easterners who hoped for profits from the cattle industry were disappointed; this fact may explain why they went West as dudes rather than businessmen in the early twentieth century.

Gressley, director of the Western History Research Center at the University of Wyoming, has combed manuscripts there and in numerous other collections in order to get his story. The result is an original study characterized by a rather unwieldy style—bits and pieces of letters interrupt the narrative; statistical portraits of eastern investors are of questionable relevance (do the marital status and number of progeny of these men really tell us anything about the financial picture?); the opening chapter on the temperament of the age is disjointed and not directly related to the rest of the book. Gressley's account, like the activity he analyzes, is seminal but unrefined. Unlike the easterners who failed, however, Gressley's investment in the economic history of the West will put future scholars in his debt.

THAT CATTLEMEN COULD CONSTRUCT EMPIRES without the aid of eastern capital or the influence of eastern business attitudes is evident in Richard Crabb's **Empire on the Platte** (*World, $7.50*), essentially the story of one cattle kingdom built in Texas and transferred to the Platte River Valley, where its owners came into conflict with homesteaders beginning to fence off the open range. Skillfully using personal stories to reach generalizations about the American West in the middle of the nine-

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OUTPOST
(*Continued from page 13*)

"You are a dog and an old woman," she cried.

There are other shortcomings from the viewpoint of the scholar. He will find the lack of footnotes exasperating, although the author does include a bibliography. He will puzzle over the relevancy of including examples from the experience of such tribes as the Potawatomi in a book dealing with the Sioux. He will wonder who managed Fort Laramie between 1836 and 1849, since James Bordeaux is the only trader mentioned, and there is an indication that he was but one among many. He may ask the same question concerning the military from 1849 to 1890. There are only occasional references to commanding officers, to the units that served there, and to the strength of the garrison. He will find slight mention made of the physical changes in the post, which are very complex and important in discussing its defensive and offensive capabilities.

At the same time, the professional will be pleased by some of the new material presented in the book. Nadeau corrects the date of the founding of the first Fort Laramie. His account of the Grattan Fight is the best yet produced. Generally, his judgments are sound and precisely stated. In short, both the general reader and the specialist can profit from this very readable book.

John D. McDermott, of the Division of History Studies, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., was formerly the park historian at Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

STATISTICS.

STRENGTH OF ICES OF DIFFERENT THICKNESSES.

Two inches thick—Will support a man.
Four inches thick—Will support a man on horseback.
Five inches thick—Will support an eighty-pounder cannon.
Eight inches thick—Will support a battery of artillery, with carriages and horses.
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THE HORSEMEN OF THE AMERICAS

and the Literature They Inspired

BY EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER

"The horsemen of the Americas—the *guasos* of Chile, the *gauchos* of the Río de la Plata, the *llaneros* of Venezuela, the *vaqueros* of Mexico, or the cowboys of the United States. . . —are brothers under the skin." This new edition of Dr. Tinker's distinguished work portrays the life of these people in the two Americas and the literature by and about them. It is profusely and handsomely illustrated. $10.00

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teenth century, Crabb's fascinating narrative proves that extensive research and good writing are compatible.

His main character is Isom Prentice "Print" Olive, born in North Carolina in 1840, bred in southern Texas after 1843. It was not many years before he was astride a horse and handling the toughest longhorns. His future as a cowboy decided, Print might have become a law-abiding cattle baron, had he not defied his father's wishes in 1861 by joining the Confederate Army. He found the fighting exhilarating, defeat frustrating. After several aimless months of liquor, whoredom, and boredom in Galveston, he returned to his family and made a difficult readjustment; but the war had changed him permanently.

Desperate men came to Texas after the war, and Print's pistol-packing abilities proved plenty useful as rustlers brazenly challenged the cowmen. These conditions and Print's realization (which came to him as he recovered from a bullet wound in Ellsworth, Kansas, in 1872) that there was great advantage to raising cattle near the railroad along the Platte—eliminating the long drive and placing the cattlemen less at the mercy of the buyers—finally persuaded the Olives to extend their operations northward.

Meanwhile, farmers in the Old Northwest were also looking toward Nebraska. Johnny Bryan, whose father had died fighting for the Union at Shiloh, was awestruck by the Platte Valley: "This is closer to the Garden of Eden than I ever expected to get. I almost feel that we ought to go back to Illinois and leave it that way forever." But the homesteaders stayed to raise corn and fences, and the cowboys retaliated by raising hell—especially Print Olive.

Unrestrained by his father, who remained in Texas, and egged on by his younger brother Bob, who idolized him and followed in his gun-slinging footsteps, Print ordered his men to cut the wire fences at the homestead owned jointly by Luther Mitchell and Ami Ketchum. When the longhorns ate their crops, the two homesteaders retaliated by slaughtering and selling the cattle in town as "slow elk," a ruse that was soon uncovered. The Olive gang attacked the Mitchell-Ketchum homestead, Bob Olive was killed, and Print vowed revenge. He got it. When the two homesteaders fled to protective custody in another county, encouraged by Nebraska lawmen who wanted the battle fought in court, Print hired some sheriffs to bring Mitchell and Ketchum under the proper jurisdiction. They were abducted from the law en route and given a necktie party.

Print had "degenerated into a lying, cheating, drunken murderer of men unarmed." Crabb's delineation of the cattle king's character is most convincing; his rise and decline is an exaggerated symbol of the fortunes of the industry itself. Sentenced to life imprisonment for his part in the hanging, then freed within two years, Print was gunned down in 1886.

AT FIRST GLANCE it may appear that Harry Chrisman's **The Ladder of Rivers: the Story of I. P. (Print) Olive** (*Sage Books, $6.00; rev. ed.*) substantiates Crabb's view, for it is asserted that the protagonist "was a cowboy, first, last, and always, and his life not only paralleled what is generally set forth in song and story as the Age of the Cowboy, but he was the personification of that era of the cattle range industry." But where Crabb shows Print's flaws, Chrisman is an uncritical admirer. He sees Print as a confirmed cowboy at age three; the Civil War episode merely gave further evidence of his bravery. And at no time were there fundamental changes in his character.

Chrisman's narrative diverges most obviously from Crabb's at the point when the Olives reach Nebraska. Mitchell and Ketchum are viewed as rustlers; no mention is made of the wire-cutting that prompted them to kill the steers. Print's hanging of the two men is seen as "hasty action," and the ensuing legal action is cast in a light most favorable to the Olives. Crabb, a native of Illinois, has based his account on research in the Bert Sell Platte Valley Documents (open to scholars at the Nebraska State Historical Society after January 1, 1968); Sell, a homesteader, helped with the research. Chrisman, a Coloradan, has utilized primary sources for the Texas period, newspapers and secondary sources for the time in Nebraska. He also had access to Olive correspondence. I found Crabb more convincing. Chrisman's promise to avoid "a sterile rut of objectivity" seems to have been carried out.

In **The Call of the Range: the Story of the Nebraska Stock Growers Association** (*Sage Books, $12.00*), Nellie Snyder Yost follows Chrisman's lead in her brief account of the conflict between cattlemen and homesteaders, though she has a tendency to gloss over the more controversial points. This book is just what its title purports it to be, descriptive rather than analytical. There is little indication that eastern capital contributed to western development and, surprisingly, no mention of the political activity of the stock growers. The chauvinistic quality of the story is responsible for such choice statements as Dr. Morris Fishbein's to the National Cooperative Meat Investigation Conference in 1939:

> There was an old idea that human beings who subsisted on meat would become vicious and brutal like carnivorous animals. This has long since been found to be untrue. Today we know the most vicious animals are . . . vegetarians. Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin are vegetarians.

But, as Miss Yost points out, the Cow-Belles—distaff side of the Stock Growers—have worked hard to dispel this unjust prejudice against meat. (As for Dr. Fishbein, he went on to become president of the American Medical Association.) An unfortunate drawback to Miss Snyder's book is that the pages are too heavy for the binding; my copy fell apart almost immediately.

NOT ONLY WAS THE CATTLE FRONTIER EXPANDING into Nebraska after the Civil War; it was also moving northward and westward within Texas. **The XIT Ranch of Texas and the Early Days of the Llano Estacado** (*Yale, $2.00*) is a reissue of J. Evetts Haley's story of "the most extensive Western range placed under one barbed wire fence." Here the influx of eastern and foreign capital was obvious. The Statehouse in Austin was built from funds obtained by the sale of three million acres in the northwest panhandle, an operation handled by the Capitol Freehold Land and Investment Company of Chicago. The fencing of this gigantic tract was financed through a company formed in England for that purpose, and British capital continued to flow to the XIT. Haley gives a thorough description of operations and problems on the ranch, including the coming of the homesteaders, whose presence did not bring on the violent conflict that characterized the Platte region.

LITERATURE

(*Continued from page 9*)

that one hungers for a tender urban neurotic like Humbert Humbert. At least for dessert.

Historians, influenced by Turner, have supported fiction writers in creating the tribal myth that the West bred "character." Recently, Dorothy Johansen has challenged this conventional viewpoint. In her Presidential Address delivered to the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Society last August ("A Working Hypothesis for the Study of Migrations"), an interesting modification of the horticultural theory of the emergence of the western personality is set forth. According to the Johansen hypothesis, the environment of the West acted as a selective agent by which individuals from the East were *attracted* west because they possessed an antecedent "predisposition to come." Once settlements were established, cultural factors supplemented physical factors, and settlers were further sorted and distributed in accordance with a refining process that placed potential Oregonians in Oregon, potential Californians in California, and potential Texans in Texas. These "Wests," Dr. Johansen maintains, did not mold character, they selected *types*.

iii

Were a non-valuative definition of "literature" adopted at this point, without any attempt at "parting out," any creative writing concerned with the extensive phenomena earmarked by eminent scholars as property of the American West could be corralled as western literature. To allow the stock to remain in this motley condition would mean, however, that the herd was not "select." *Literature* should not be a term indiscriminately applied to all scribbling that happens to exploit western subject-matter. A dodge-gate must be installed, and the herd culled and trimmed. This is the task of the literary critic, and it is a slippery enterprise for anyone rash enough to undertake it.

Few critics are willing to "part out" because it requires conviction about what differentiates good from bad in the literary domain. To admit vulgar categories like "good" and "bad" betrays naivete, and one advanced school of thought, championed by the meteoric pundit, Susan Sontag, advocates extermination of criticism, describing it as "the revenge of the intellect upon art." A work of literature should speak for itself without the intercession of mediocre critics. To some extent, this point of view is commendable. But what constitutes "literature" in the first place? Regrettably, we do not live in a cultural paradise where literary virtue is unerringly recognized and literary vice inexorably exposed. Thus, a picaresque masterpiece like Dan Cushman's *Stay Away Joe* could fade into oblivion after the publisher's surplus copies were remaindered at ten cents each, while quantities of "far-out" rubbish, devoid of content, are lavishly reprinted and absorbed into university literature courses. By disregarding Archimedes' practical observation that in order to move an object one must have a place to stand, many modern critics have abandoned the field to charlatans. Humbug prospers and propagates on unfenced range with no natural checks. Common sense must be restored to literary evaluations. This proclamation does not pretend to be profound — only pre-fungoid.

Through some peculiarly fortunate configuration of circumstance, the West was a breeding pasture for common sense, and it is tempting to appeal to its values to support a crusade against pseudo-aesthetic, obscurantist cant. The West was a perennial victim of Humbug. At the same time, it was an implacable foe of this ubiquitous demon. The medicine show found eager audiences among untutored bumpkins of the frontier towns, but numerous were the occasions when pill-peddling pitchmen pulled pins and departed from the scene in undignified haste, a wolf's breath ahead of a riled community. The King and the Duke led a graceless, ambulatory existence. While the West exercised its option on folly, *gumption* and *horse-sense* were ultimate virtues without which one's prosperity or life might suddenly be terminated. The mature westerner could maintain healthy skepticism without relinquishing ability to render clear, pragmatic judgments. A horse thief who came from a broken home was still a horse thief, and was hanged without ill-feeling. This is not an argument for lynching, but if the salutary traits of common sense could be crossbred with the erudition and in-

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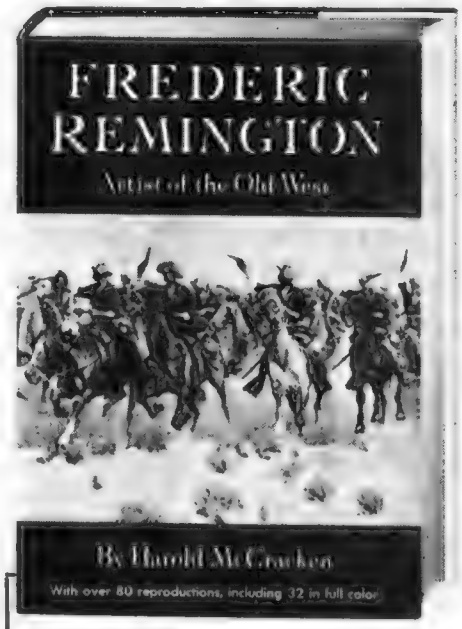

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YET ANYONE ACQUAINTED WITH another of Haley's books, **A Texan Looks at Lyndon: a Study in Illegitimate Power** (*Palo Duro Press, $1.00; 1964*) will realize that he has his villains—or at least one. "Lyndon Baines Johnson . . . is not so much a product of Texas as of the strangely deranged times that have set the stage for his ambitious desires, his vanity and monumental egotism, his vindictive nature and his evil genius." His "illegitimate power" is based on terror—his fear of the people and the people's fear of him. Haley's book, a receptacle for every right-wing rumor about LBJ, has recently been matched by a vitriolic attack from the left. Robert Sherrill's **The Accidental President** (*Grossman, $5.00*) is so full of hatred for Johnson that the author is prompted to the most revealing candor: "The man doth make J. Evetts Haleys of us all."

William S. White, a fellow Texan and friend of the President, writes in **The Professional: Lyndon B. Johnson** (*Houghton-Mifflin, $5.00; 1964*):

> For years, first as a congressman and then as a senator, he had been regarded by many in Texas . . . as far too liberal. Sometimes to them, he was almost a "Socialist" or "Communist." For years in other parts of the nation, notably in the liberal and urban East, he had meanwhile been denounced as a southern Tory and Bourbon.

White rejects both labels and implicitly suggests that Johnson has perennially faced the same dilemma as the cowboy of myth and romance—he has done his real work behind the scenes (riding the range) while many of his colleagues, particularly his liberal critics, have gotten the credit because they are more glamorous (meting out justice).

Otherwise, though he is the first westerner to become President of the United States in the twentieth century (Hoover and Eisenhower obviously do not qualify), no one has attempted to interpret Johnson in terms of regionalism. When reference is made to his origins in the Texas hill country, the emphasis is on poverty, not the wide open spaces. (In this regard, narrow corridors and smoke-filled rooms have seemed more appropriate.) Theodore H. White, in **The Making of the President, 1964** (*Atheneum, $6.95; 1965*), certainly sees a closer approximation of the stereotype cowboy in Barry Goldwater—dedicated to simple certitudes, shooting from the lip with an almost naive candor—than in Lyndon Johnson. The three major biographies of 1966—Leonard Baker's **The Johnson Eclipse** (*Macmillan, $5.95*), a study of his Vice-Presidency; Rowland Evans and Robert Novak's **Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercize of Power** (*New American Library, $7.95*), focusing on domestic politics; and Philip Geyelin's **Lyndon B. Johnson and the World** (*Praeger, $5.95*), devoted to foreign policy—are in agreement that LBJ's interests have always been national rather than regional (or international) and that his method is complexly pragmatic rather than straightforward (according to Geyelin, he is "a mass of contradictions and an enigma even to those closest to him"). Though he has ridden herd on Congress for years, though the LBJ brand seems ubiquitous, no one yet is calling him the Great Cowboy.

Joseph E. Illick, of the History Department of San Francisco State College, is Book Editor of The American West Review.

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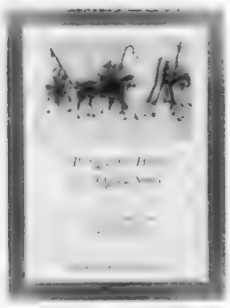

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sights of seasoned scholarship, sound classical criticism would be the offshoot.

An appeal for standards does not mean standardization or cessation of experimentation. It does insist that some experiments be recognized as failures, that artists be held accountable for the application of valid means to definable ends, and that the aesthetic bedlam that lodges the serious artistic endeavor with the hoax be brought to an end. Automatic Rorschach-writing is *out!* Western scholars, familiar as they are with such wonders as hoopsnakes, gunpowder biscuits, haunted mines, ghost stallions, disappearing mountains, and railroads built with rawhide, should be particularly sympathetic to the demand that criticism live up to its name.

iv

Gene Daniels once rode thirty miles from the line-camp to partake of the Trimalchian festivities of Thanksgiving at the Home Ranch. The tom turkey, tenderly nurtured for the occasion on discarded cigaret butts, moldy sourdough, and the blue-garbage-plate special, turned out to be well-rigged with sinews, scrawny along the beam, and a mite whiffy in the hold. Gene calculated that the meal hadn't been worth the polish he'd put on his saddle. Considering the return ride in waspish weather, the gastronomic quest had to be tallied as a bust. In case readers are saddle-sore and entertaining similar thoughts, they should be relieved to know they have almost reached camp — wherever it is. Skirting a few bog-holes, what has been suggested so far is that the West offers a wide range, complete with drift rights, for prospective authors, but grazing there will not necessarily produce literature, and that a function of the critic is to tell them when and why they haven't. We can now pick up the stray. Does western literature have a future?

An optimistic forecast can be projected from the views of a sagacious historian of medieval literature, Eugene Vinaver. Occasionally, it has been maintained that authentic western literature must be folk-literature or testaments springing compulsively from western soil. Fantasies concocted by interlopers exploiting western materials represent, at best, urban frustrations. According to Walter Prescott Webb, *plains literature* "must deal with the aspects of nature — the somber, far-spread, ocean-like plain; the arid mountains; the quicksanded rivers; the drought, the hail, and the wind." If confined to these narrow notions, it could be argued that critics would have little to consider because folk-gibberish — current fads notwithstanding — is seldom literature, and nature does not speak for itself. True literature, which requires a civilized heritage, is not an indigenous, grass-roots product of the West, but an imported tradition. In the process of investigating the sources of the Arthurian Legends, Professor Vinaver advanced the refreshingly heretical hypothesis that the absence of "sources" probably means that there weren't any! Folk-Myth as an *ur-genre* is, itself, mythical, and without the imaginative work of sensitive individual artists there would be no literature at all. *Fabliaux* constitute a sophisticated art form.

With respect to western literature, this doctrine promises more for the future than the past. Texas attics are unlikely repositories for undiscovered masterpieces, and combing them for letters, diaries, and memoirs in an effort to seek literature where there is a dearth might only tempt some modern Macpherson to fake it. Dreary collections of pot-hookery of insufficient merit to qualify for Norton Mockridge's *Scrawl of the Wild* have been edited by enthusiasts fascinated by *westernalia*, or by academicians threatened with being chicken-fed if they should fail to publish. This does not mean that such collections are useless. As Emma Rogers, owner of the RO spread, used to say when some corroded curio showed up during centennial barn cleanings, "I don't know what it's good for, but don't throw it away."

The more hopeful conclusion to be drawn from Vinaver's thesis is that a continuous flow of western literature can be anticipated as long as writers are inspired by western values. Although there is no exclusively indigenous western literature, there is considerable literature devoted to the West. Scratchings on cliffs, reminiscences on the backs of seed catalogs, or messages sealed in purple bottles do not necessarily qualify as western literature because they can be traced to persons born and bred on the scene. Likewise, works by writers who only crossed the wide Missouri in a sports car should not, on that account, be disqualified. Literature was a uni-

SOME NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE ELEPHANT

(Continued from page 13)

California Gold (1947, now available in paperback) and *Mining Frontiers of the Far West* (1963) with another book that will further broaden basic knowledge and understanding of the gold rush. Into *The California Gold Discovery* he has gathered letters, newspaper accounts, reminiscences, and retrospections that record the circumstances surrounding the momentous event at Sutter's Mill. As well, he presents the interpretations of major historians since Hubert Howe Bancroft who have wrestled with the conflicting evidence. Paul's major introduction and his comments, insights, and tentative conclusions throughout the book constitute by far the most intensive analysis of these historical documents that until now were scattered and more legendary than available.

Evidencing an ever-widening interest in the gold rush and an imaginative approach to editing is a book published by Ohio University Press in 1965: *The Buckeye Rovers in the Gold Rush*, edited by Howard L. Scamehorn. The editor has created an effective record of overland travel by blending two diaries written by forty-niners traveling in the same company. For each day of the journey, the entries of J. Elza Armstrong and John Edwin Banks are presented, the former set off in italics. The Armstrong diary by itself would never have warranted publication, but here it serves as an effective complement and contrast to Banks, who kept an unusually descriptive record for his family back in Ohio and maintained it for over three years.

The latter third of the book consists of Banks' weekly entries describing life in the northern mines through June, 1852. Like Decker, he tells of miseries and disappointments common to all miners, and of a stubborn pride in conflict with frustration and homesickness. We need more such diaries that tell of the influence of the California experience on the thousands of sons, fathers, and husbands who returned home restless and dissatisfied, far different men than had waved good-bye.

The Perkins, Decker, and Armstrong-Banks diaries, and Paul's collected documents will help to sustain and refine our traditional interest in the first American gold rush. Each year, such new publications point up the need for a major study analyzing the motives of gold rush authors, comparing the qualities of diaries, letters, and reminiscences, and evaluating as a literary form gold rush records that now total almost eight hundred items. Such a study would go far toward explaining the nature of the gold rush and its impact on American values and character.

J. S. Holliday, an authority on gold rush literature, is in the department of history at San Francisco State College.

THE TRAIL OF THE CONCORD COACH

(Continued from page 13)

sidetracked into antiquarian controversies. Regarding the currently discussed question of whether Wells, Fargo & Company actually operated a stageline in California, the author simply points out that "it seems likely" that control of the central Overland Mail Company passed to Wells, Fargo & Company during 1859-1860, and notes than "on the contrary, Waddell F. Smith, a descendant of William Waddell, has published a monograph in which he states that during its history as an express company in California, Wells, Fargo & Company 'never at any time operated a stage line in the entire state of California.' Although there has been wide disagreement among historians, no other writer on the subject is found to agree with Mr. Smith, and he cites no authority for his statement."

Even though Mr. Moody has striven diligently to produce a balanced account of the staging business, it is nevertheless apparent that the author feels more at home with staging within California than elsewhere in the West. He devotes an entire chapter to the beginnings of staging in the Golden State but neglects similar transportation problems in the Pacific Northwest, as well as local (as opposed to overland) staging operations in Minnesota and the Dakotas, Texas, and elsewhere along the moving trans-Mississippi frontier.

A unique feature of this book is the uncommon deftness with which Mr. Moody describes the handling of six-horse teams. In particular, he displays both an extensive knowledge and a keen sensitivity regarding reining, and in general he credits drivers with more know-how than the horses they drove. But such competence did not come from one easy lesson. It was the product of a three-year curriculum. In his freshman year, the tyro practiced with two light reins and learned the basics of fingering. During the second year, he practiced with four reins, then six during his third. In this final year the lad "was taught the artistry of loose-rein driving" in the driver's seat of a Concord coach. His diploma, usually bestowed by father to son, consisted of a whip—"the symbol of his profession."

If interested in something more than the froth of frontier history, general readers of *Stagecoach West* will discover this book to be both informative and enjoyable. The narrative is clear and the style of writing is comfortable and easy. Though the book offers little information that is new to the professional historian, its substance is sober and sound.

Oscar O. Winther is Professor of History at Indiana University and a member of the Council of the Western History Association.

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versal tradition imported by the West. Western writers either came from the outside, bringing literary inclinations with them, or were natives who acquired the aspiration to write and the basic techniques of the craft through contact with civilization. The West provided raw material for literary treatment, not a new convention. Andy Adams' *Log of the Cowboy* is literature *before* it is a western documentary. That its design is woven from the experience of the cattle drive is secondary. Familiarity of Adams with his material gives his work authentic insight which its successors lacked. But it was the calibre of Adams' mind rather than mere authenticity that gave stature to the work. Those who "borrowed" from him produced botched imitations of the original. But not because they were alien to the West. Properly treated, Borden Chase's *Red River* could have been literature as well as a successful financial venture.

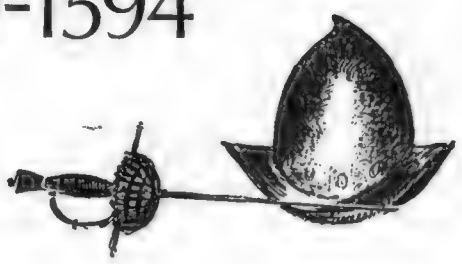
The American West is still a reservoir for creative literature. Increased opportunities for research, made possible by affluence, leisure, ease of travel, and well-equipped libraries, should improve rather than adulterate the quality of works produced. Deleterious countervailing factors, however, require checking by vigilant critics, who should develop intellectual muscle and reassert prerogatives exercised under an older classical tradition. The critic renders service to the writer as well as to the reader. It is his obligation to raise standards by subjecting every printed page to incisive scrutiny and unrelenting analysis, in the effort to strengthen the artist's will to perfection. Abdication is not a path to enlightened polity but to anarchy.

Without stopping to examine the subtle literary fallacies of Miss Sontag's "Against Interpretation" and "On Style," it seems fair to state that her arguments are directed against *bad* critical interpretation rather than against interpretation in general. Interpretation, through which a writer's work is placed in perspective and viewed in contexts of which the artist himself may be unaware, is illuminating and informative. The critic's job is to make sense and shed light. He should be a disciple only of the Devil, but Freudian or Marxist interpretations should not be ignored, when appropriate, simply because aesthetic absolutists complain petulantly when someone professes to find "meaning" in a work of art. Marx himself was fond of invoking that bit of rustic wisdom, "The proof of the pudding is in the eating," and this attitude admits him to the fraternity of the sane.

In short, a critic's primary responsibility is to make sense to somebody some of the time, even if he cannot make sense to everybody all of the time. This creed is typically western and could pass as the gospel according to St. Mark of the *Territorial Enterprise*. It is not a creed confined to the West. It was shared by the late Geoffrey Chaucer and the still more recently late Hans Christian Andersen. *The Pardoner's Tale* and *The Emperor's New Clothes* are not examples of the literature of the American West, but they have an uncanny western flavor. Chaucer and Andersen would have been at home in the West, although I do not know whether their "predispositions" would have taken them to Oregon, California — or Texas.

Owen Ulph is a contributing editor of The American West *and Professor of Humanities at Reed College, Portland, Oregon.*

THE REDISCOVERY OF
NEW MEXICO 1580-1594



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THE NEMESIS OF SCIENTISM

(Continued from page 15)

it for half a century, is the author's best. Unfortunately, Billington is an uneasy disciple. He can never make up his mind whether to stick by the Master or sell him out. Ultimately, he sells him out. "That Turner was guilty of semantic sins was unquestionable," writes Billington. "Turner was by nature a poet, incapable of marring his text with scientific definition, and inclined to be swept along on a tide of metaphors until trapped by his own imagery. Had he been less gifted in the use of language, or the product of an age given to scientific precision, he would have been more clearly understood and less widely read."

This passage sets one's teeth on edge. How does one accuse a poet of "semantic sins"? How does one give "scientific definition" to an elusive term like the "frontier"? Does ineptness in the use of language further scientific accuracy? Let us look at the definitions Billington produces with "scientific precision." The frontier is defined as "a geographic region adjacent to the unsettled portions of the continent in which a low man-land ratio and unusually abundant, unexploited natural resources provide an exceptional opportunity for social and economic betterment to the small-propertied individual." A paragraph later additional scientific rigor is applied in distinguishing the "frontier process" from the frontier by describing it as "the process through which the socioeconomic-political experiences and standards of individuals were altered by an environment where a low man-land ratio and the presence of untapped natural resources provided an unusual opportunity for individual self-advancement." Under the most elementary empirical and logical scrutiny these definitions fall apart. This effort at "scientific precision" may be likened to an attempt to dig a cow out of quicksand with a shovel.

A concern with the scientific approach leads Billington to employ such terms as "deficiency motivation" and "abundancy motivation" to describe such cases as cattlemen moving to richer feed when pasture became lean. The obsession with scientism attains classical absurdity with the statement, "Social scientists are now unanimous in their belief that physical environment is not solely determinative of human behavior." As if this truism were insufficient by itself, it is supported by several pages of proof in which it is demonstrated that a baby ape raised in a middle-class home along with the other kiddies did not learn to speak nor, presumably, to read and write, and a girl reared in a closet emerged retarded (Frederick II reputedly performed the latter "experiment" in the thirteenth century to learn if the incarcerated child upon release at puberty would speak Greek or Latin). Unfortunately "behavioral scientists" are still tinkering around with such trumpery.

Billington also seems to fall into another trap to which critical experts are so often vulnerable—that is, the failure to comprehend the strength and weakness of the inductive method. A generalization is, after all, only a generalization, and it loses validity when used inclusively. The variables in the field of human motivation and behavior are enormous, and efforts to reduce history to statistical formulation with consequent scientific predictability can be disastrous. Indeed, there is a method paradox here. Individual variation is exactly the phenomenon that allows scholars such as Billington to torpedo the generalizations of scholars of insight who never pretended to be establishing *laws* of development to which there were no exceptions. To a great extent, this is what has been done to Turner.

It is doubtful if any of the "behavioral sciences" can be "scientific" in the sense in which many zealots desire. The alternative, however, to producing "science" is not that one is necessarily condemned to producing "poetry." Turner was *not* a poet. Neither was De Tocqueville nor Lord Bryce. But they were men of profound vision. They knew what they were doing, and they knew their limitations and the limitations of their subject. Their gift for language spared them the necessity for employing the overstructured, escalated jargon and journalese of contemporary social science. They could still use "technical competence" instead of "technical know-how." One wishes they could return and re-teach us the alphabet.

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AMBIGUOUS LEGATEES

(Continued from page 15)

group association by voluntary action for purposes of survival should be weighed against the current desirability of joining a group, any group, simply to gain the sanctuary of conformity.

Materialism is a crassly phosphorescent bugaboo often conjured out of the frontier heritage by those who pursue higher salaries with the same fervor and zeal they use in chase of an unused footnote. At its frontier worst, materialism was as loathsome as avarice, gluttony, cupidity, and usury have always been, and these same traits are among Man's less appealing attributes today. Yet—even though it was not articulate, which some hold to be a sign of its innate barbarism—the frontier knew that a measure of material independence was essential to any measure of political freedom.

That we have been, are, and are likely to remain a nation of migrants currently is held to make us naught but bifurcated lemmings, but one gathers that the founders of these United States believed in the free and unfettered movement of people—not as a privilege but as a basic right. My litmus tells me that they *had* to believe this simply because the availability of empty space for the filling prevented restriction of movement, a fundamental requirement of oppression and suppression. To take advantage of this opportunity for untrammeled movement required courage as well as buoyant optimism—both of which required more iron in the bowels than dross in the *derriere*. A modicum of this same courage in the face of today's manifold unknowns makes one more useful legacy from the frontier.

Anti-intellectualism is the favorite anti-Christ produced by the frontier experience, and it seems necessary here to peel away its layers, as one peels an onion. On or barely below the surface is the intellectual's appalling inability to conceal his self-satisfaction from his less learned fellows. This same manifestation in other groups, say the AMA or the Junior League, is often dubbed "arrogance" or "snobbery." Somewhat deeper is the intellectual's inflexibility in the face of problems demanding a pragmatic approach for solution, and the frontier had as many of these as we do today. At the heart of the matter is the

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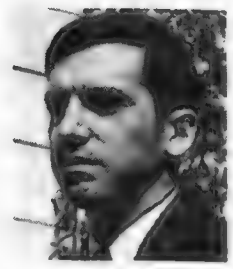
LOOKING WESTWARD

BY JOSEPH E. ILLICK



Five years ago I had seen no part of the United States west of Wisconsin. The Great American Desert, so designated by Major Stephen S. Long on the map of his exploratory expedition of 1820, was known to me only through my reading in Bernard DeVoto and Walter Prescott Webb. Long had labeled the area "unfit for cultivation" and "uninhabitable for a people depending on agriculture for their subsistence." Almost four decades later the *North American Review* reported that "Kansas and Nebraska, with the exception of the small strip of land upon their eastern borders, are perfect deserts, with a soil . . . forever to unfit them to the purpose of agriculture. . . . Washington Territory, and Oregon, and Utah, and New Mexico, are, with the exception of a few limited areas, composed of mountain chains and unfruitful plains. . . . [It is] a country destined to remain forever an uninhabited waste."

With the sure knowledge that the American Desert was populated, but certain of little else, I set out for California in August, 1962. Since then I have crossed the continent six more times by automobile (and eight times by airplane), visiting every western state and contiguous Canadian province. This intensive introduction to the region has brought in its wake some intensive reading and a few intense reactions.

W. Eugene Hollon provides a lucid account of the original inhabitants and European intruders, the peculiar environment and special problems of *The Great American Desert* (Oxford University Press, $6.00). Concise and to the point, Hollon eschews analysis and avoids provocative statements. Romance eludes him (he labels Brigham Young's tight-lipped command, "This is the Place," a "dramatic phrase"). But humor is not lacking as Hollon differentiates among the desert states according to their highway advertising, or as he wryly notes the proximity of Goldwater country to Death Valley. Furthermore, he makes clear the ironic contrast between western denunciation of, *and dependence on*, the Federal Government, as well as the intellectual aridity this feat requires. He has surprisingly little to say on the aesthetics of conservation. Hollon has written a handy if uninspiring guide to the American Desert.

Nebraska is merely a part of the American Desert, scenically the least interesting but—invested with the imagination of Mari Sandoz (*Love Song to the Plains*, University of Nebraska Press, $1.85; originally published in 1961)—romantically the most intriguing:

> Half of this region [the Great Plains] was the old Nebraska Territory that lay like a golden hackberry leaf in the sun, a giant curling, tilted leaf. The veins of it were long streams rising out near the mountains and flowing eastward to the Big Muddy, the wild Missouri. The largest that cut through the center of the Plains was the broad, flat-watered Platte, usually pleasant and easygoing as an October day, and below it the Republican, deceptively limpid but roaring into sudden gully-washers that flooded all the wide valley and could sweep away even the most powerful of the wilderness herds.

Not only the land but the people are sketched heroically; witness the portraits of the Omaha chief Blackbird, and the trader Manuel Lisa.

The later immigrants were as primitive as the first inhabitants, but not as interesting. They brutally destroyed the Indians: "one story was told of the woman who was cut across the abdomen by a piece of shell so her bowels and her unborn child hung out as she stooped over her clasped arms. Somehow she held herself together with her blanket and struggled on at the command of the mounted soldiers who drove the captives along behind the triumphant commander [Harney]." Then they set their own civilization in the void left by the untutored red man. Miss Sandoz mentions one "Butler, who on his death received his short inch of immortality in *The New York Times* obituary notices for three accomplish-

sure instinct of the common citizenry that the intellectual elite actively mistrusts their common sense—while soliciting their support. Elitism since time began has been monolithic, and the frontier has always been pluralistic. Those who would comprise Professor Diggins' "responsible 'establishment'" required by today's "specialized society" should not be too dismayed or discouraged by a modern version of the frontier's question: "Have we toiled twice twenty centuries to be free of priests and popes and despots, only to be pestered now by professors?" So long as some vestiges of the frontier's heritage guard us against gulping doctrinal panaceas without reading the labels, just so long have we a fighting chance to enhance the major legacy from the frontier.

That great inheritance is a commitment to the ideal of the dignity of the individual. That we have not always lived up to our ideal has provoked damply pubescent cries that the United States is not perfect. In the past as today, these cries often have been accompanied by actions most reminiscent of adolescent rebellions against a flawed father-figure. Neither the hard and unpalatable fact that we have not always lived up to our ideal, nor the sound and fury such failures have provoked, can alter the fact that we never have forsaken our ideal.

This steadfast allegiance has enabled us to become the first in history to give substance to the dream of building a multi-racial democracy, to dare to hope that with time we can build a non-racial one. This allegiance has impelled us to fight others' wars in defense of our ideal, although those we aided did not always share it, and to fight those wars without expectation that success would increase our material benefits. This allegiance to our ideal produced the Marshall Plan which looms large in the roll call of Man's humanity to Man. These are unambiguous legacies from that concatenation of circumstances which produced our frontier heritage.

W. H. Hutchinson, guest lecturer in California and Western History at Chico State College, is a contributing editor of The American West.

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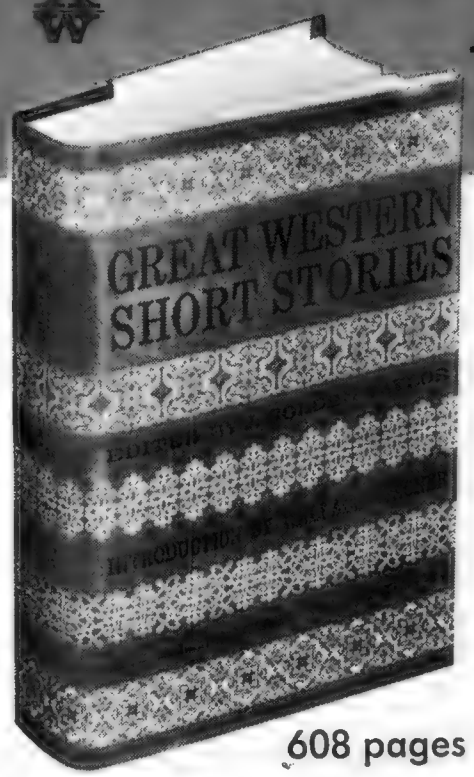

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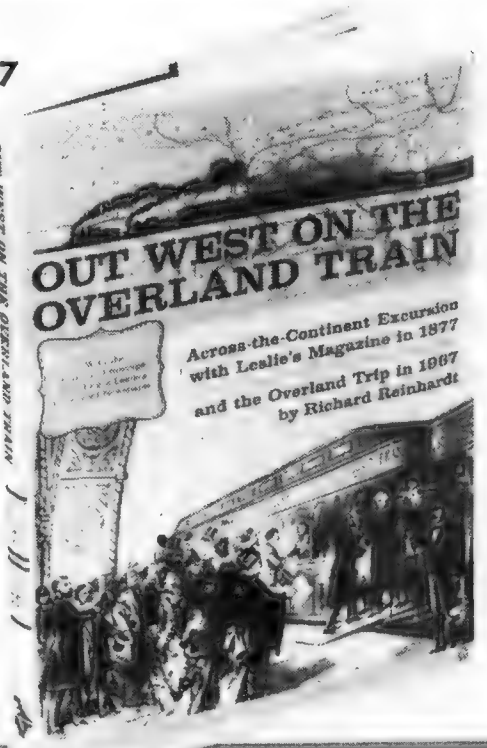

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ments: elected mayor of Omaha and the banning of *Idiot's Delight* and the book *Slogum House*. Not that the Butler bannings were the first in the city." We are prepared for the banalities and intolerance of Mr. Bryan.

But for William Jennings Bryan there was George Norris, and to counter the book-bannings there was the University, admitting students free of tuition and "without regard for sex or race or place of residence." Nothing can undo the slaughter of the Indians (and the recent television documentary on race relations in Omaha, "A Time for Burning," suggests that some white attitudes have not changed much), but Mari Sandoz has vividly portrayed Nebraska as a land of contrasts which the superficial observer may easily overlook. I must confess that I did.

Another portion of the American Desert is the subject of Elwyn B. Robinson's *The History of North Dakota* (University of Nebraska Press, $7.95), although only half the state may be considered desert. This is a thorough and reliable book, bringing together (for the first time, I believe) many monographs; it is handsomely printed; and the prose is clear, though undistinguished. The focus is on politics and economics; cultural affairs are discussed in separate sections. This division is sometimes unfortunate; the final chapter, "The Character of a People," contains observations which would have been useful earlier in explaining such political facts as the support for Senator Nye's isolationism. Also unfortunate is Robinson's tendency to mute his theme, which as I understand it is that North Dakota has been settled by foreigners (he only hints at the effect of their European backgrounds on their attitudes), exploited by foreigners (the railroad men, Minneapolis merchants, even Franklin Roosevelt), and consequently feels collectively isolated, an attitude accentuated by the lack of economic diversity, the constant emigration, and the weather.

Undoubtedly it is difficult to emphasize a theme and simultaneously describe the multitude of events which appear here. Robinson's book will always be useful as a reference for North Dakota history, but it will be used more dutifully than lovingly.

New Mexico—*The Land of Poco Tiempo* (University of New Mexico Press, $5.00)—is a part of the American Desert almost totally different from Nebraska or North Dakota. Charles F. Lummis emphasizes this contrast in a book published originally in 1893 (the current edition is a facsimile of the 1928 edition). "Society is little bitten with the unrest of civilization," he notes, as if to scold eastern readers and midwestern boomers. "The Anglo-Saxon is not born to intrinsic hospitality," in contrast to the New Mexican, "and can understand its real meaning as little as anything else one has to *learn*." Lummis had nothing but disdain for "closet historians" (perhaps some of his Harvard professors came to mind). Experience was the best teacher; he had walked from Ohio to California. He met and admired the Pueblo, Navajo, and Mexican inhabitants of the land of *poco tiempo*; he explored their dwellings, listened to their stories, recorded their songs, and even photographed the Penitentes as they crucified one of their fellow self-flagellants on Good Friday.

Lummis writes as a man enchanted by his subject; yet, however much he may romanticize New Mexico, he never loses control of his narrative powers.

Like Lummis, Robert Louis Stevenson saw the value of knowledge based on experience. During his journey *From Scotland to Silverado* (Harvard University Press, $5.95), he noted: "Emigration . . . The abstract idea, as conceived at home, is hopeful and adventurous. . . . This is the closet picture, and is found, on trial, to consist mostly of embellishments." This statement is based on Stevenson's observations of the steerage passengers; a third of his account is devoted to the Atlantic crossing, and we learn as much of the author as his subjects at this time. Boarding a train in New York, Stevenson crossed the continent. The passengers were of the same type as aboard ship, but the scenery had changed. "All through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa . . . it was rich and various, and breathed an elegance peculiar to itself." The only sour note which intruded does not surprise us moderns: "The fences along the line bore but two descriptions of advertisement; one to recommend tobaccos, and the other to vaunt remedies against the ague."

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THE AMERICAN WEST REVIEW

(Continued from page 3)

erations to follow as good a hint as they would ever get as to what the presumed common man thought of life in the Great West.

One of the standard complaints of the common man was a high dissatisfaction with monopolies that antedated the trust-busting era by as much as half a century. Consider, for example, "The California Stage Company," first published in 1858. Not only does it indulge in a sublime realism concerning the joys of land transportation in the middle of the nineteenth century, it lays down a rallying cry worthy of the sloganeers of the I.W.W.:

CALIFORNIA STAGE COMPANY

1

There's no respect for youth or age,
On board of a California stage;
But pull and haul about for seats
As bedbugs do among the sheets.

Chorus

They started as a thieving line
In eighteen hundred forty-nine;
All "opposition" they defy,
So the people must "root hog or die."

2

You're crowded in with Chinamen,
As fattening hogs are in a pen,
And what will more a man provoke,
Is musty plug tobacco smoke.

3

The ladies are compelled to sit
With dresses in tobacco spit;
The gentlemen don't seem to care,
But talk on politics and swear.

4

The dust is deep in summer time,
The mountains very hard to climb;
And drivers often stop and yell,
*"Get out, all hands, and push—**up hill**!"*

5

The drivers, when they feel inclined,
Will have you walking on behind,
And on your shoulders lug a pole,
To help them through some muddy hole.

6

They promise, when your fare you pay,
*"You'll have to walk but **half** the way;"*
*Then add **aside**, with cunning laugh,*
*"You'll push and pull the **other half**!"*

7

They have and will monopolize . .
*The business, till the **people** rise,*
And send them "kiting" down below,
To start a line with Bates and Rowe!

This ditty, together with hundreds more, from laments of the forty-niners to ballads of the working man, can be found in a collection scheduled for fall publication: *The Songs of the American West*, by Richard E. Lingenfelter, Richard A. Dwyer, and David Cohen (University of California Press, $15.00). This astute and comprehensive anthology makes an honest and generally effective attempt to link its songs to a realistic interpretation of western history; the explanatory notes accompanying the selections are informative, accurate, and altogether useful.

That these are not traits shared by all such collections can be seen in a perusal of another recent anthology of western folk songs: *Songs of the Great American West*, by Irwin Silber and Earl Robinson (Macmillan, $12.50). While the selection of songs in this book is quite representative (and attractively presented), the historical notes often leave something to be desired in terms of historical sophistication: "John C. Fremont was the stepchild of American destiny. Courageous explorer, able soldier, astute politician, he cast a shadow on his times which history has inadequately reflected."

The ubiquitous J. Ross Browne tramped up and down most of the Far West at one time or another in the 1860's, setting down his observations in a prose style that matched that of the early Mark Twain, and creating a series of pen-and-ink sketches that limned in vigorous style what he saw and experienced. The illustrations above and on our cover are from A Peep at Washoe, *published in 1864, many of whose drawings chronicled the spirit of western stagecoaching.*

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liking. "It is a world almost without a feature; an empty sky, an empty earth. . . . The train toiled over this infinity like a snail." He eagerly anticipated Wyoming, but found it worse by comparison. "The plains have a grandeur of their own; but here is nothing but a contorted smallness."

Clearly, Stevenson found the American Desert a large disappointment. He was not happy until he reached the Pacific Coast (though he was outraged by Caucasian attitudes toward the Chinese in California). His descriptions of Monterey and San Francisco are short but delightful. The closing pages concern his adventures in the Napa Valley immediately after his marriage. James D. Hart, of the University of California at Berkeley, explains the events which led to this union (indeed, it was Stevenson's reason for traveling to America) in his very useful introduction. The John Harvard Library has maintained its usual high standards of production in *From Scotland to Silverado*.

Henry Pickering Walker's *The Wagonmasters: High Plains Freighting from the Earliest Days of the Santa Fe Trail to 1880* (University of Oklahoma Press, $5.95) is undoubtedly a definitive work in its specialized area, and students of the American West will find it a useful reference. Logs of journeys, tables of costs and products, these are not easily woven into a narrative account. In addition to the constant imperatives of profit-making, freighting was at best drudgerous and at worst dangerous. The environment was not a thing of beauty but a potential hazard to the wagon master. Walker's story reflects this situation; it is not lightly or romantically written.

Redfield, D. T., August 17, 1884

My dear Ellen,—

> After wandering around in the wilderness since you last saw me, I have reached what seems to me in the light in which I walk, to be the promised land. It is a land of promise in the sense that its advantages are prospective rather than established. It has hopes rather than existing resources.

So begins J. Leonard Bates' edition of *Tom Walsh in Dakota Territory. Personal Correspondence of Senator Thomas J. Walsh and Elinor C. McClements* (University of Illinois Press, $7.95). Measuring this passage against Walsh's ultimate political stature as a United States Senator, one might expect the letters which passed between him and his future wife to be a chronicle of success, depicting a Horatio Alger of the American Desert. Instead, the reader is treated to a thoroughly engaging two-way conversation—not exactly the development of a relationship (in the twentieth-century, much overused sense of the word) but the progression of a friendship (in the nineteenth-century manner of courtship). Both parties were intelligent and well read; talk of books and theater, supplemented by political and personal news, is the mainstay of this correspondence, invariably lightened by a wry wit mutually shared.

> I knew of course [Ellen wrote] that you are, rightfully, opposed to liquor, but I did not know you make it part of your political creed. I, too, am a prohibitionist, in witness whereof I am invited to a champagne supper tomorrow night.

When Ellen, who was in Chicago, failed to share a sympathy for the anarchists being tried in the wake of the Haymarket riot, Walsh relieved the tension by joking about some Wisconsin anarchists ("Their principal occupation was drinking beer") and one in particular, who was disrupting a town meeting with a discourse on his favorite subject ("marriage as the greatest obstacle to progress"). Walsh's father brought him into line by pointing out that the question before the house "was not one of religion or social statics, but to determine [on] which side of the road the ditch should be built."

Yet even good-natured teasing and Walsh's inherited pragmatism could not entirely allay the anxiety, subtle but evident, which sprang from loneliness and a fear of breaching propriety (in 1887, after six years of correspondence, it is still "My dear Ellen" and, in return, "Dear Friend"). When offense was almost inexplicably given, Walsh reacted by revealing that his professional career had reached the point where he could ask for Ellen's hand, "that for years I had cherished. . . ." Ellen was at first hesitant, which will not completely surprise the reader who has followed the nuances of the writing. This section of the book is the most moving, and its flavor is fullest if the earlier pages have been read carefully.

Even after Ellen's doubts had been

allayed, Walsh wrote:

> You didn't say in response to my request that I might call on you when in the city, but applying the rules of legal construction to your letter, as much might be inferred and I shall act accordingly unless you direct otherwise.

Hard as it may be to believe (as we stand in the midst of the "sexual revolution"), people, suffering under Victorian restraints were apparently happy—what more useful lesson can history teach?

On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence trumpeted to the world the American idea of democracy, and several state constitutions soon institutionalized the concept. What Thomas Jefferson's pen accomplished in theory at the beginning of the Revolution, his election to the Presidency in 1800 achieved in practice. The people rejected the aristocratic Federalists, and this assault on social inequality was reinforced by Andrew Jackson. Yet "Old Hickory" was chastized as a demagogue throughout the nineteenth century by those men whose wealth afforded them the education and leisure to write about our national past. This situation changed in the early twentieth century, when a different breed of historian began to write with a prodemocratic bias, largely under the influence of Frederick Jackson Turner (whose famous frontier thesis has obscured our vision of this, his more important achievement).

But it has taken mass production, widespread affluence, and a shorter work week to storm the last citadel of aristocracy: Culture. It began with the democratization of sports, once the preserve of the rich, and proceeded from there to the civic center. Now the decline of custom tailoring, increasing leisure time, and a fat paycheck abetted by the credit system have allowed Americans to meet on equal terms at concerts, plays, and art shows. If this is not satisfying, there is always the exotic tour to faraway places.

It is not surprising to find this phenomenon affecting the world of publishing. Sunset Books have been in the vanguard of this movement, as two recent publications amply demonstrate. An outlay of $11.75 will get you *The Sea of Cortez*, a lavish travel guide to the Gulf of California, Baja California, and the west coast of mainland Mexico ("an area filled with unexploited outdoor sports,

Especially Recommended:

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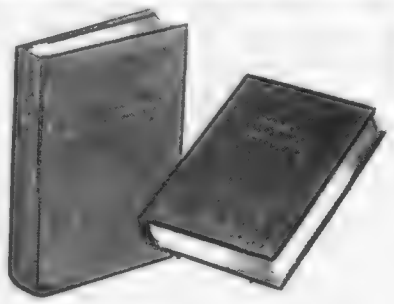

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travel, and recreation opportunities for Americans"). But if you have Higher Tastes, the same amount will bring *Art Treasures of the West* into your home. "In the West, art is everywhere being brought to the people" and "Art comes to life when people come to art" are only two captions which emphasize the contemporary cultural explosion. This pictorial tour of western galleries features Old World masterpieces (the color reproduction is superior to *The Sea of Cortez*), but the text occasionally runs in a quite contrary direction. Stanton Macdonald-Wright, a Los Angeles painter, is quoted as saying in 1923: "The puerile repetition of the surface aspects of the old masters has ceased to interest intelligent men." (Macdonald-Wright got his come-uppance in obscurity, but I fail to see how Sunset can label this a "plea for public tolerance." Wouldn't "public attention" have been more accurate?)

This conflict between illustrations and commentary simply reflects the contrast between our aristocratic past and democratic present, a dichotomy which is avoided when one deals with Western Art (west of the Mississippi, not the Danube). A case in point is *The Colorful Butterfield Overland Stage* (Best-West Publications, $6.75), color reproductions of twenty paintings by Marjorie Reed. The text is short and simple, just as the paintings say little. A far more appealing harmony is achieved in *Charles M. Russell. Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture in the Amon G. Carter Collection* (University of Texas Press, $17.50)—over twenty-five items, including Russell's rifle, spurs, bit, and sketch box. The interesting and skillful commentary by Frederic G. Renner is indeed worthy of the reproduced work.

For those people who find such graphic and plastic arts inadequately representative of the whole West, there are books of photographs. For $12.95 you can get from Superior Press either *Boot Hill: Historic Graves of the Old West* or *Historic Fires of the West: 1865 to 1915*. Unless you are peculiarly morbid, the subject matter of the latter will be the more exciting—but in both cases the text and illustrations are undistinguished. Those whose interests run more to the mechanical will undoubtedly derive considerable enjoyment from *Snowplow: Clearing Mountain Rails* (Howell-North, $6.00), a handsomely produced, well-written account of technical (and perhaps western) ingenuity.

RETURNING FROM KERN RIVER.

The large number of good photographs in Oscar Lewis's *San Francisco: Mission to Metropolis* (Howell-North, $6.95) might put it in the category of books already mentioned, especially since there is little of added value in the text which did not appear in Lewis's 1931 survey of the same subject. Further proof of the current democratization of culture is provided by the contrast between the high quality of production found in Lewis's first book as compared to his second. The earlier edition was printed on expensive paper; the illustrations seldom appeared more than one to a page. Now the print is smaller, the paper cheaper, and the illustrations literally run off the pages. Costs must be curtailed when books are competing with other products for the consumer's attention. Economic and social democracy are being well served by book publishers: perhaps they are the Tom Paines, if not the Thomas Jeffersons, of our generation.

Joseph E. Illick, of the History Department at San Francisco State College, is Book Editor of The American West Review.

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RIDING ON A RAIL

Technology Triumphant—1871

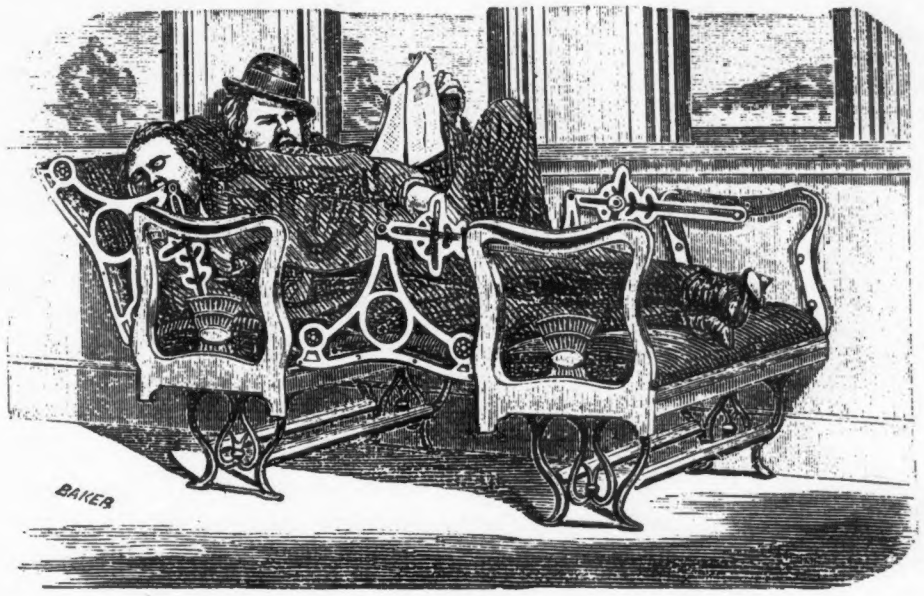
(Traveling overland to California by rail was an obvious improvement over the wagon-trail route, a four-month passage that assailed the traveler with dust, flies, mosquitoes, and the acrid smell of burning buffalo-chips. Yet railroad travel, too, had its disadvantages. Below, the *Pacific Rural Press* of February 4, 1871, discusses in moving detail one of the most agonizing of these drawbacks, and rejoices in the invention of "Blood's Patent Car Seats" as a solution.)

We of the present generation apparently do not have such stiff backs as our ancestors had. Many of us can remember how our grandmothers sat erect in their chairs, disdaining to rest against the chair-back. Theoretically, we don't know but what they were more correct in the principle than we are, but personally we always select that chair whose back presents the most comfortable rest.

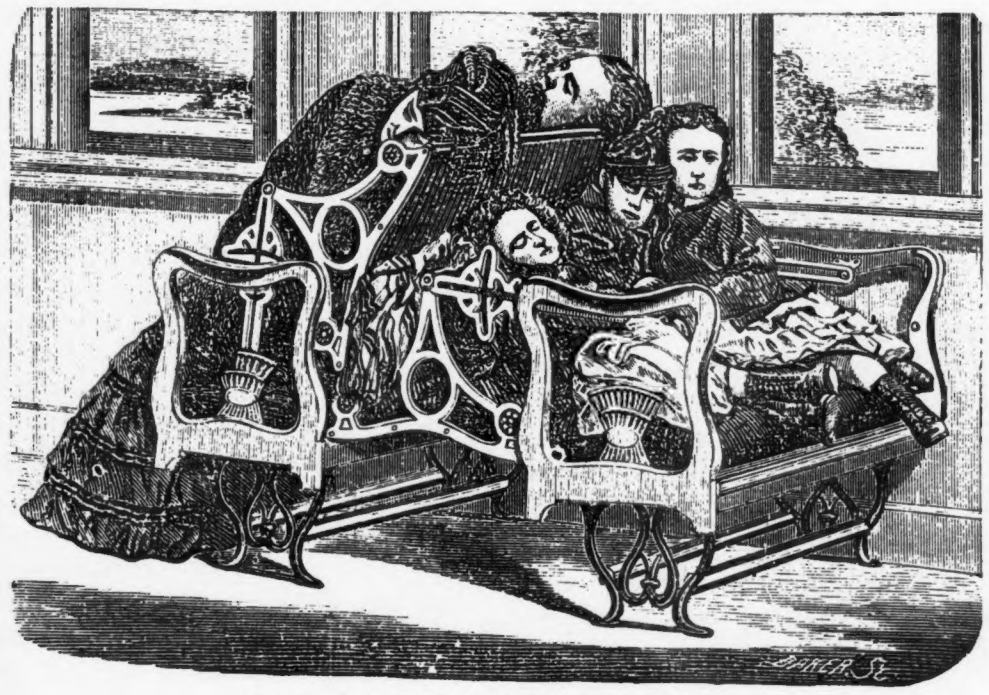
Had these ancestors of ours been as much addicted to riding in railroad cars as we are, we think they might have modified their action, and sought to relieve their weary spines. But this last has hitherto been difficult of accomplishment. The straight-backed seats become very tiresome, when one is jolted along for a considerable length of time, and how to secure a comfortable position has heretofore defied the most persistent efforts of the traveler.

The Chicago *Railway Gazette* describes these efforts well. It says: An erect sitting posture is quite comfortable at first, but the continual jar tends to render it monotonous and almost impossible to maintain, and here the traveler finds himself reduced to a choice from a few attitudes which vary considerably in their elegance but very little in their comfort. He slides slowly down until it is necessary to brace his knees high up against the back of the forward seat and here, in the shape of a horizontal interrogation mark, he finds a "brief bitter bliss" until his breaking neck and aching limbs compel him to resign it. The most ingenious traveler is seldom able to suggest to himself any improvement on these two luxurious positions, unless he be fortunate enough to secure, and keep, a double seat, in which exceptional case he can prop himself up with his baggage and devise a variation of his agony.

There comes now to our relief, a St. Louis inventor, whose device really seems most promising. This gentleman has furnished an arrangement by which one can obtain that variety of postures which is so necessary for comfort on a long trip. It now may be possible for the traveler to exclaim with sincerity, "Bless me, this *is* pleasant, riding on a rail."



AS A SOFA.



VARIATIONS OF BLOOD'S IMPROVED CAR SEATS.

Our engravings illustrate this device and present some of the variations which can be attained thereby. One illustration represents a change which can be effected instantaneously, allowing an easy, half-reclining position. Another shows the variation as a sofa; and another, one which renders it possible to make the trip enjoyable to children, and to dispose of a small family in a compact way, so that their comfort, particularly that of the little ones, can be assured.

The adoption of this improvement does not involve any large expense. All that is necessary is a simple change of the irons on which the backs of the seats revolve, and this is effected at a cost of about three dollars a seat. The device being so important an improvement and the expense of introducing it so trifling, we naturally find it adopted on many routes; for any railroad, to succeed, must provide as well as possible for the comfort of the traveler. Such a contrivance on our overland railroad would be a great addition; and it would be in excellent place in the Emigrant cars.

THE BALANCE SHEET

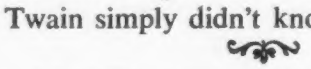
(*Continued from page 11*)

Yankee eye for profit, Twain entered the netherworld of nineteenth-century subscription publishing in 1867 with *The Jumping Frog and Other Stories*. The book did well, and when the subscription house of the American Publishing Company sent out feelers, Twain joined it, publishing *The Innocents Abroad* in 1869. It was far more of a success than *The Jumping Frog*, an event which convinced him beyond argument that subscription publishing was his only chance to make great, whopping chunks of money.

He was in the company of rascals, there can be no doubt. Subscription publishing, in which books were circulated much as magazines are today, employed methods at least as dubious of those of today's "dirty book" publishers — including false advertising, unscrupulous cheating of their own house-to-house salesmen, and such crafty *operandi* as postponing the publication of a great man's biography until the day of his death, even if it took a couple of years for him to go. Twain apparently felt little discomfort at being involved with such high-minded types, and in fact became, in 1884, the financial angel of Charles L. Webster & Co., a subscription house singlemindedly devoted to the accumulation of money. The fact that (like most of the business ventures with which he became entangled) the company stumbled into bankruptcy, was far more offensive to Twain's sensibilities than the methods utilized in the sale of books.

Twain entered the publishing world a rank novice, but learned fast. His first communication with Elisha Bliss (December 2, 1867) sings with the deference one might expect from an unproved author: "If you think such a book would suit your purpose, please drop me a line, specifying the size and general style of the volume; when the matter ought to be ready; whether it should have pictures in it or not; and particularly what your terms with me would be, and what amount of money I might possibly make out of it." Exactly three years later, when *Innocents Abroad* had made its not inconsiderable stir, he was all business: "Friend Bliss: I'll tell you what I'll do, I'll not take advantage of your consent to pay me 10 per cent, but I'll do this. You're to pay me 8½ *per cent*, and advance me another thousand dollars (in addition to the fifteen hundred,) any time I demand it during 1871, this thousand *also* to come out of my first earnings on the African book [a stupendous undertaking that never developed]."

Twain's problem, it appears, was a more complicated version of the question that has trammeled more than one writer before and since: to what extent do you sacrifice artistry to the mundane task of getting enough money to keep on writing? Although Twain apparently refused to recognize any conflict between art and money-making — "Just as I feared, Tom Sawyer is not yet ready to issue. . . . Therefore the spring trade is lost beyond all redemption. . . . I am determined that Tom shall outsell any previous book of mine. . . ." (April 16, 1875) — and sometimes got away with it, one cannot help but wonder what books he might have written had he not convinced himself that the measure of a man was stacked in greenbacks. In this respect, it is possible to feel a twinge of regret — yes, and pity — while reading through the more depraved of the letters. Mark Twain simply didn't know who he was.



Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers is one of the first three volumes of the Mark Twain Papers to be published by the University of California Press. The other two are *Mark Twain's Satires and Burlesques*, edited by Franklin Rogers, and *Which Was the Dream? and Other Symbolic Writings of the Later Years*, edited by John Tuckey. The Mark Twain Papers, under the general editorship of Frederick Anderson, will eventually include some fourteen volumes of largely unpublished material, from correspondence to short stories, much of it in the Mark Twain Collection willed to the University of California at Berkeley by Twain's daughter, Clara Clemens Samossoud.

If all this smacks a bit of being somewhat more of Twain than anyone might want to read, it is probably inevitable. Twain, together with such as Melville and Thoreau, must stand near the head of nineteenth-century American writing; his scribblings down to the last jot are fair game for the persistent scholar, and if the standards of editing remain as high throughout the series as they are in these first three, a significant purpose may be served: if we do not learn much more about Twain as artist, we may well learn about Twain as man — and, perhaps more importantly, about the land and the time that shaped him.

EDEN AND TURNER

(*Continued from page 11*)

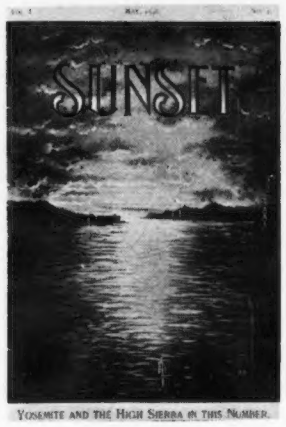
extension of the Federal power and sectionalism.

The amplitude of Turner's thesis embraces all of man's reactions to the sustained abundance, an abundance foreign to his memory circuits, that he found between Jamestown and Land's End, between the Gulf and Milk River. It was this abundance, passive in its plenitude, that gave tangible meaning to one legacy from the Renaissance: that the material benefits of *this* world were worth striving for as much as were the spiritual rewards of the unknown next.

Our passion for tinkering with our environment is the cause of Eden's jeopardy and potential tragedy. It is a passion possible only to a people who have been free to tinker without obstruction, interference, or regulation by pope, priest, king, or fellow man. Given this freedom, our passion was magnified, accentuated, given mystic values, by the omnipresent abundance. Whatever form it took, it belonged by God's mandate to him who used it; to him who shaped it, hewed it, mined it, and molded it to increase his worldly estate in preparation for the hereafter. Man, being what he is, cannot soon forget nor soon escape the psychological conditioning of three centuries of abundance provided by open space. We have not yet forgotten nor escaped this conditioning, and the Johnson County War and the riots in Watts are offered in support of a continuing resistance to our changing estate.

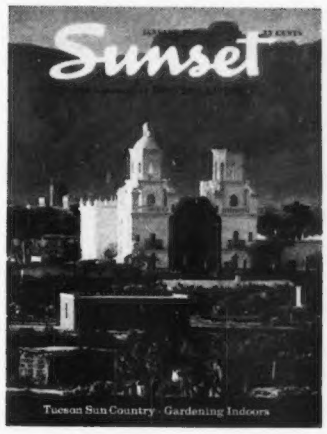
It is this conditioning by abundance that is at the very heart of our ancient faith that we, the people of the United States, are above history. It is the message of *Eden in Jeopardy* that we are not, and that we damned well better learn that we are not before our conditioning by abundance brings us nothing but a container more important than its contents.

W. H. Hutchinson, guest lecturer in California and Western History at Chico State College, is a contributing editor of The American West.



May 1898

"Sunset... a symbol and symptom of the West"

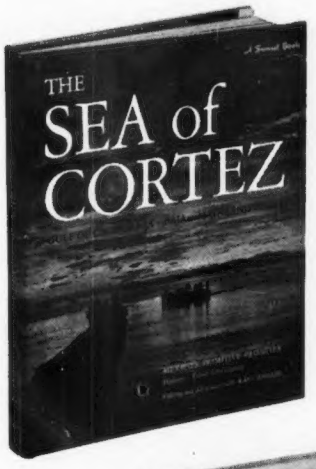


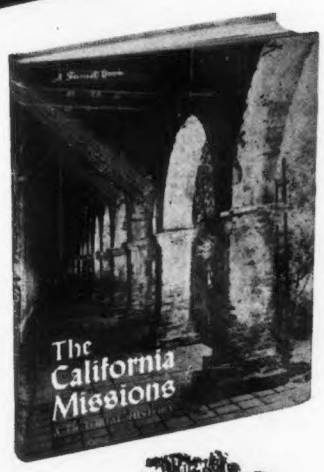
January 1967

Today's events soon become yesterday's history. And reporting on and serving the contemporary West has been the role of *Sunset* Magazine since May of 1898, when the Southern Pacific Railroad founded the publication named after its new crack "Sunset Limited" transcontinental train. The magazine was truly the "Voice of the Whole West" in those turn-of-the-century years — and is even more so today. Its creed, as stated in the first issue, was to report on the West — ". . . a rich and inexhaustible field over which the dawn of future commercial and industrial importance is just beginning." Quite a prophecy — although some of us today might question how "inexhaustible" some of our resources really are.

Times changed and so did the *need* for the railroad's type of magazine; so it was sold in 1914 to several of the employees. The work of great Western writers and artists continued to appear in the years that followed — Jack London, Frank and Kathleen Norris, Peter B. Kyne, Stewart Edward White, and many others.

Sunset began a completely new life in February of 1929, when it became a magazine *for* the West, rather than *about* the West. In the 38 years since that issue, every page has been dedicated to helping and serving families west of the Great Divide, as "The Magazine of Western Living." Neil Morgan, in his book "Westward Tilt," refers to *Sunset* as ". . . the best gauge of . . . cultural tides of the West . . . both a symbol and symptom of the West."





In the early years of the Great Depression, we started publishing *Sunset* Books and today they represent a very important and significant part of our business. Our 1967 catalog lists 104 books in current distribution. Eleven titles have attained sales of more than 200,000 copies (1,125,000 *Western Garden Books* sold to-date); another 38 titles have had sales of 100,000 or more.

From the new best seller, "Sea of Cortez," on through many other titles reflecting virtually every phase of family activities and interests in Western America, *Sunset* Books have brought valuable and helpful reading to millions of buyers (and so have the California Historical Society's and Ward Ritchie books, which we also distribute). Some, like "The California Missions," have been reviewed as among the best sources of information on the historical heritage for enjoyment of modern Westerners.

If you are interested in knowing more about *Sunset* Magazine or *Sunset* Books and other publications we distribute, please write to us and mention *American West Review.*

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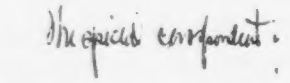

(Continued from page 3)

and expanded his repute. Aside from his magazine illustrations, he was published in 142 books. The paintings which he did not destroy numbered 2,739. And in 1895 he took a fancy to sculpture, which finally resulted in twenty-five bronzes, many of them cast by the score or even by the hundred. (For instance, forty castings were made of "Coming Through the Rye," a group of four mounted cowboys on a spree, the forty being sold by Tiffany's at $2,000 the copy!)

A middle-class boy from Canton, New York, the youthful artist had given up a degree from Yale when his father died and left him enough money to strike out on his own in the West. For several years he knocked about the frontier, from Montana to Arizona, sometimes making sketches, now and then selling one to eastern magazines. He might have spent more years in the rugged atmosphere he loved so well, but marriage brought the need for more stylish living—and Remington had no aversion to subsisting high on the hog.

His retentive visual memory was stuffed with material when he moved to New York, and in later years he took to the field on occasion, often as a reporter. Much of his best work was what one might call "reportage," as a perusal of Harold McCracken's *The Frederic Remington Book* (Doubleday, $19.95) will reveal. Remington's imagined West of the fur trapper, the explorer, the last-ditch fight—the West of legendary story—does not generally match in quality the works he derived from observation; some of these little sketches on our back cover swing more weight than ambitious paintings.

Remington's abilities as a reporter are amusingly suggested by his famous telegraphic exchange with William Randolph Hearst, when he was sent to Cuba in 1898 to cover the brutal fighting between Spaniard and Cuban that Hearst was puffing in his papers. Remington complained that he found no war—to which Hearst instantly replied, "You furnish the pictures; I'll furnish the war."

As an artist of serious rank, Remington may well deserve to be remembered by his comment on an impressionist exhibit he unwillingly attended in London: "Say, I've got two maiden aunts upstate who can *knit* better pictures than those!" (Be it noted that when Remington was born, Monet had reached adulthood and Turner had been ten years in his grave.)

If Remington fell short as an artistic genius, it can certainly be said that he measured up magnificently as a professional painter. He took the frontier West seriously, he took its history seriously, and he sought to document what he knew to be a vanishing way of life. If he ate his way up to 300 pounds (and had to give up riding horses on this account), it was just another illustration of his gusto. He didn't *knit* an image of the West: he swallowed it whole and made it his own.